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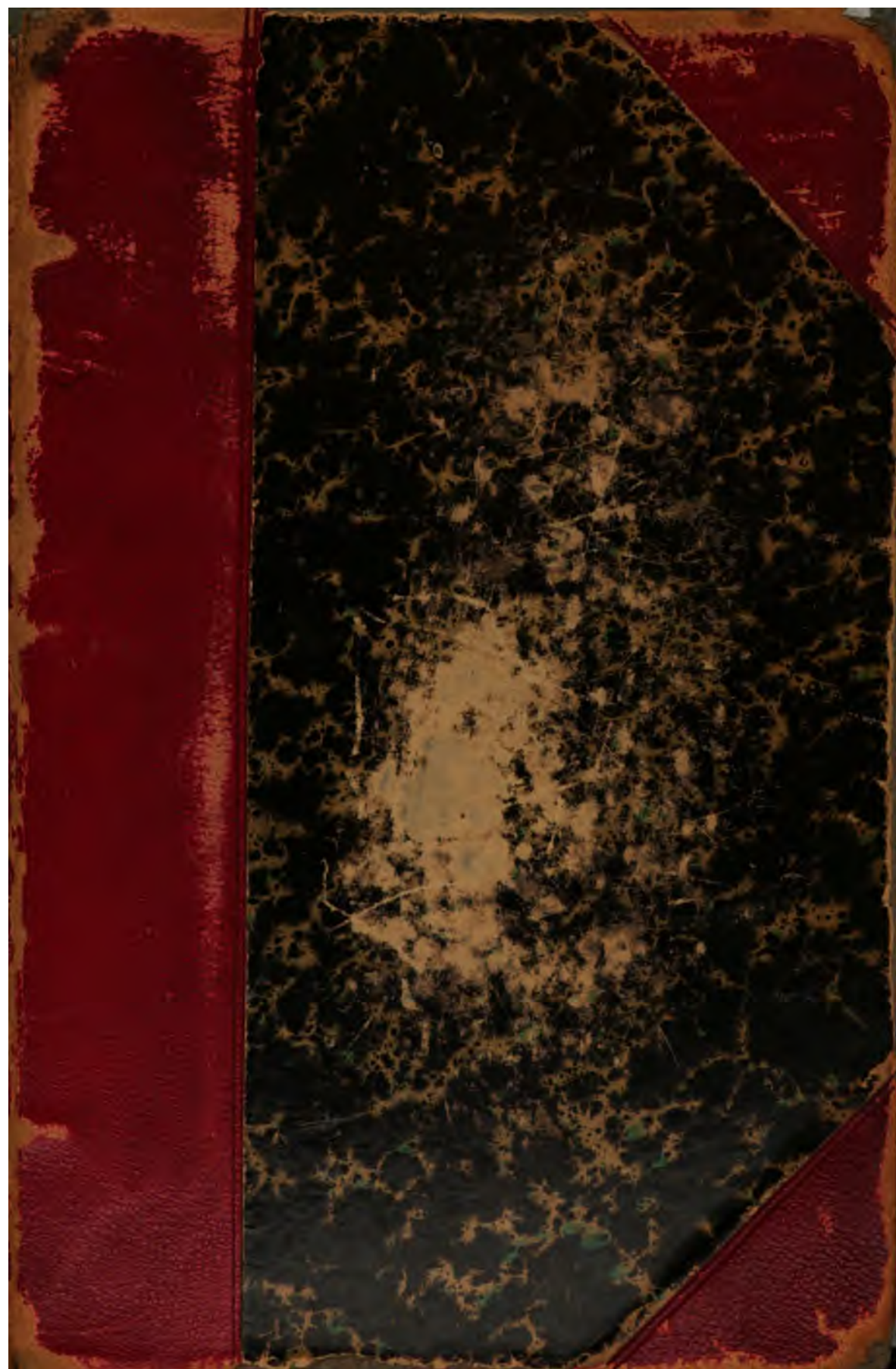
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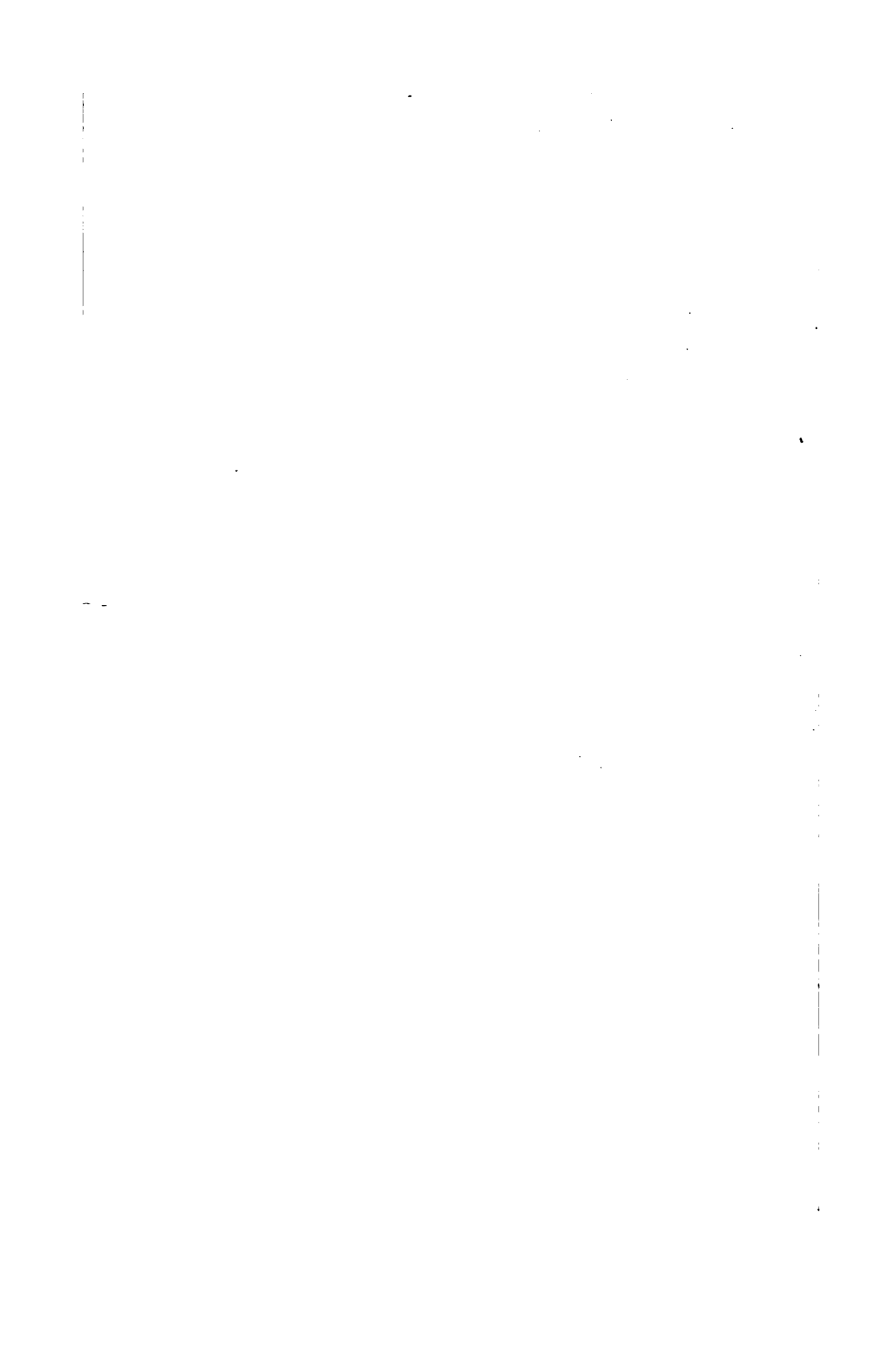
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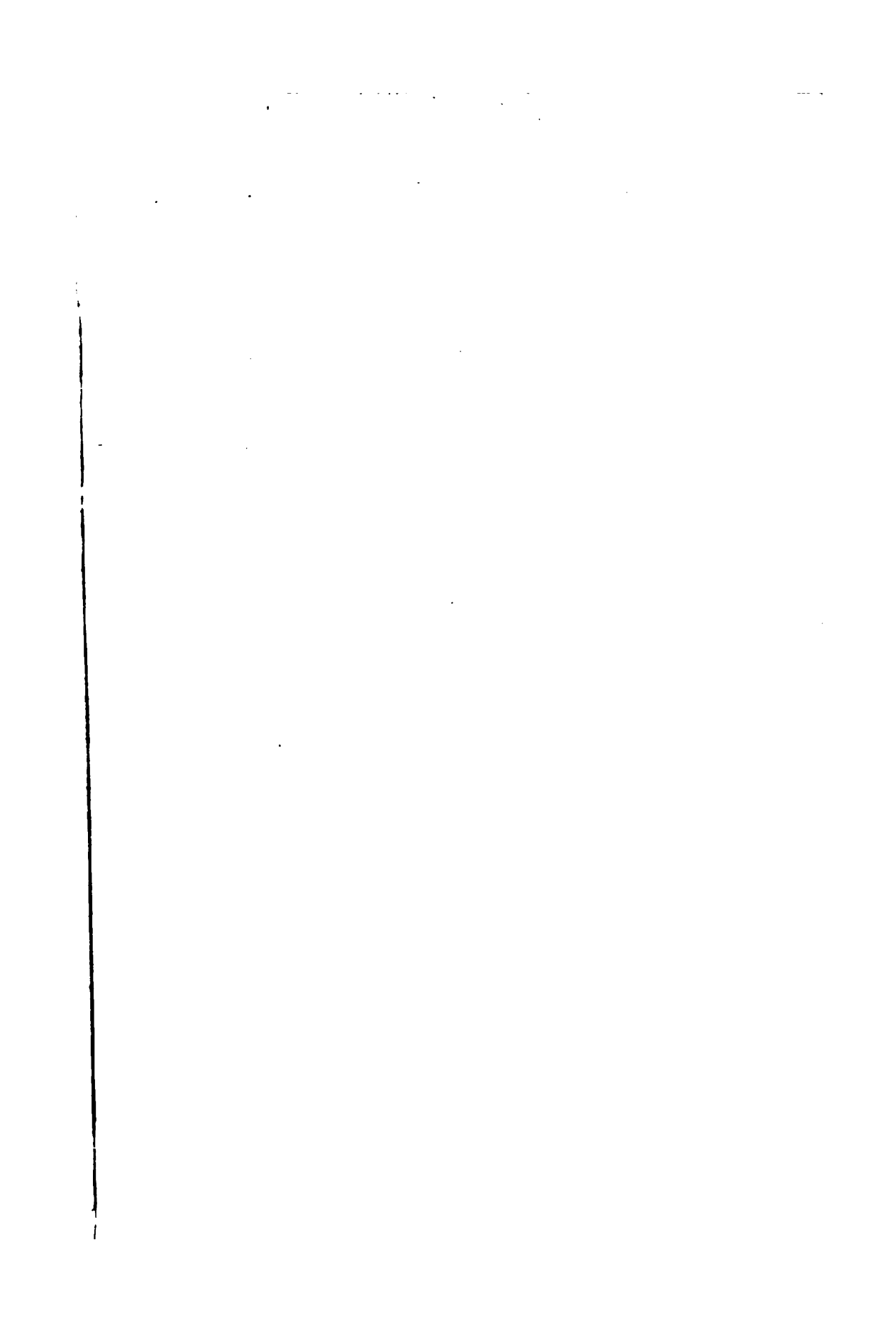
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SUPPLEMENT TO THE  
ANNALS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.



VOL. VII, No. 3.

MAY, 1896.

WHOLE No. 34.

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CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

TRANSLATED AND SUPPLIED WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D.,  
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,

AND

ADA S. VINCENT.

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PHILADELPHIA:

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, 12 and 14 King St., Westminster, London, S. W.  
FRANCE: L. Larose, rue Soufflot, 22, Paris. GERMANY: Gustav Fischer, Jena.  
ITALY: Direzione del Giornale degli Economisti, Rome, Via Ripetta, 102.  
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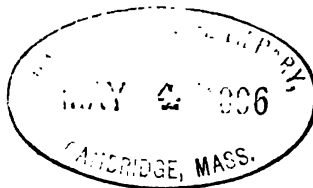
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1896.

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#### NOTE.

This Constitution, by means of the numbers at the bottom of the pages, is paged continuously with the Constitution of the United States of Mexico, which was the first paper in Volume II of the ANNALS, and was issued in a separate edition as No. 27 of the Publications of the Academy; the Constitution of the Republic of Colombia, which was sent as a Supplement to the January, 1893, ANNALS, and was also issued as No. 79 of the Publications of the Academy; the Constitutional and Organic Laws of France, which were sent as a Supplement to the March, 1893, ANNALS, and were also issued as No. 86 of the Publications of the Academy; the Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia, which was sent as a Supplement to the September, 1894, ANNALS, and was also issued as No. 127 of the Publications of the Academy, and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy, which was sent as a Supplement to the November, 1894, ANNALS, and was also issued as No. 135 of the Publications of the Academy.

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## THE CONSTITUTION OF BELGIUM.

### HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Belgium appeared among the nations of Europe as an independent monarchy in 1831. At that time a constitution was adopted which remained without change for more than half a century, and, in fact, continues to be with some amendment the organic law of the state. With its independence and neutrality guaranteed by the great powers, with sagacious rulers on the throne, and with an industrious population, Belgium for the greater part of the nineteenth century has had a singularly fortunate history, and among observers of political affairs has often been pointed out as a model government of its kind. It might be said, however, that this success has been due as much to the temperate political action of the people as to the excellence of the machinery of government, for the progress of the state has not been without periods of serious friction. The framers of the constitution neither severed themselves completely from the past nor provided for all the contingencies of the future, hence the gradual spread of democratic ideas caused in time uneasiness and finally change, so that the year 1893 marks an important epoch in the history of the nation.

One hundred years ago the French Revolution found Belgium under the dominion of the House of Austria, as it had been since before the Reformation. Yet we observe that even this long submission to a

single dynasty had not obliterated the spirit of local independence which had been so conspicuous in the early history of Brabant. Charles the Fifth, despot though he was, was not the sovereign of the Netherlands as a whole but the duke of one province or the count of another, and swore allegiance to each one separately. So the philosophic Joseph II., with his well-meant reforms, at the close of the eighteenth century, had met with resistance largely because the recipients of his favors had not been consulted. Communities and provinces had been so long in the habit of managing their own internal affairs that they did not take kindly to outside interference. In this we may find one explanation of the large measure of local autonomy existing to-day in Belgium, and, furthermore, may see some reasons for the lack of united resistance to outside invasion at certain critical points in her history. One of these crises was the French Revolution.

When the armies of the Directory appeared in Belgium their superior force was aided by the hatred of the people to the Austrian dominion and the conquest was easy. In fact, the French were welcomed as deliverers, but the disappointment was sad, for besides loss in plunder, the country was practically annexed to the republic by being divided into arbitrary departments and administered as a part of France.

For a time Napoleon inherited this conquest and used it as his own, but at the collapse of his empire the Congress of Powers which administered his estate determined to join the Belgian provinces to those of Holland under the title of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. A working constitution was

established for this new monarchy, which provided a legislative assembly in which each country was to be equally represented, although the population of Belgium was far more numerous than that of Holland. Under this arrangement the countries lived for a decade and a half, until, by the episode known as the Revolution of 1830, these uncongenial parts were separated and the independent kingdom of Belgium came into being.

This has sometimes been regarded merely as an echo of the crisis in France of the same year, but the Belgian revolution of 1830 was by no means a sentimental copy of the democratic movement across the border, nor was it likely to have occurred, had not the grievances which caused it been of many years standing. The Belgians were not pleased with their political situation for numerous reasons. That the union brought about by the European Powers was not a success ought to have been evident even to its creators, though the Hollanders were blind to the reasons of it. Whatever opinion we may have of the motives of William of Holland, or of his Dutch statesmen, it must be conceded that the policy pursued was very unlikely to conciliate the Belgian people. Not only was there disproportion in the legislature, but in the administration as well; the Dutch were given place and advancement in overwhelming majority. National jealousy was thus needlessly aroused and the ill feeling was kept alive and further embittered by the differences of the two peoples in religious faith.

Other causes of irritation might be mentioned, which occurred from time to time during the fifteen years of union. The arbitrary abolition of trial by jury by royal

edict was followed by the establishment of Dutch as the official language of both countries in civil and military matters; the financial system was unjust to Belgium, the old Holland debt having been revived and saddled equally on the two countries; the Dutch, taking advantage of the numbers in the legislature passed commercial ordinances which discriminated in favor of Holland; the Supreme Court and certain other common institutions were placed in Holland, and every important lawyer was thus obliged to learn Dutch and lose practice at that; in religious matters the Protestant government was not sufficiently considerate of the strong Catholic population of Belgium, for there was always a lingering fear that the Hollanders would attempt to protestantize the country completely through the schools. In short, the king appeared to look upon these provinces as his own and to act in the spirit of the clause in the agreement of the powers which said that he should be given "an accession of territory."

In view of these facts it is not surprising that in 1830 a little spark kindled a patriotic revolution. A few enthusiasts cried out, "*Imitons les Parisiens*," and the country followed, but only part way in the path of destruction. With all the temptation to violent reaction the moderation of the actors in this revolution is striking. The statesmen who were called upon to rebuild the nation refused to follow recent example and establish a republic. They refused to separate themselves from their historic past, but founded a constitutional monarchy and then looked about to find a suitable person to wear the crown.

Leopold, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, accepted the task and during a reign of thirty-four years displayed a similar

moderation in the exercise of his powers. Leopold II., his son, has likewise been a man of great discretion, but has lived to see some great changes in the political condition and political aspirations of his people.

Since the adoption of the constitution there has been a constant advancement in public welfare in so far as this could be accomplished by statute law. The fundamental law has from time to time been interpreted in a liberal spirit and the maximum of freedom made use of. Party government has not been without friction, but heated periods and alarming crises have been safely passed. The same native moderation has proved the safety of the nation. The controlling powers, sometimes Liberal, sometimes Catholic Conservative, have never been extreme in their demands; neither the radicals nor the ultramontanes having been in a position to command. A recent writer has thus briefly characterized the situation :

"One may summarize our whole political movement in saying that the progressive liberals prepare the reforms, that the moderate liberals realize them, and that the governmental catholics do not dare undo the work, in spite of the oburgations of the ultramontanes."<sup>1</sup>

The political experience of Belgium has been of great interest to all students of government, but as this did not until recently result in changes in the constitution, the history of the matter does not come within the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that before sixty years of state life had passed it was plainly seen that the old foundation was too narrow for the new age. Agitation was in progress for many years, demanding particularly an enlargement of the suffrage. The composition of

<sup>1</sup> Goblet d'Alviella, in "*Cinquante Ans de Liberté*," Vol. i, p. 192.

the senate was also an issue, though of less importance in the public mind. In both matters amendments were effected. A strong party backed by the disfranchised working classes demanded universal suffrage pure and simple; others demanded an educational qualification of various kinds, while the conservatives stood for a moderate widening of the property qualification. Compromises between the extremes were finally agreed upon and the changes were recorded in the fundamental law in 1893.<sup>1</sup> A few comments on the nature of these amendments will be found in the notes appended to the constitution.

J. M. VINCENT.

*Johns Hopkins University.*

<sup>1</sup>Promulgated in September, 1893. See *Recueil des Lois*, No. xiii, 1893.

## THE CONSTITUTION OF BELGIUM.

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*In the name of the Belgian people, the National Congress enacts :*

### TITLE I.

#### THE TERRITORY AND ITS DIVISIONS.

ARTICLE 1. Belgium is divided into provinces. These provinces are : Antwerp, Brabant, West Flanders, East Flanders, Hainaut, Liège, Limbourg, Luxembourg, Namur. If required, the territory may be divided by law into a greater number of provinces.

The colonies, possessions beyond the sea or protectorates which Belgium may acquire shall be governed by special laws. The Belgian forces required for their defence shall be recruited only by voluntary enlistment.<sup>1</sup>

ART. 2. Subdivisions of the provinces cannot be made except by law.

<sup>1</sup> Before the French Revolution Belgium was divided into three states; the principality of Liège, the principality of Stavelot and the provinces of the Pays Bas Catholique. The subdivisions in these were of a feudal character and were separated, in respect to political rights, by many barriers of law and custom. The Directory introduced uniformity on the plan of the departments, districts and cantons used in France and the idea has prevailed ever since. In the revision the words "except the relations of Luxembourg to the Germanic Confederation" are omitted. In 1839 a portion of that province was erected into a German duchy and the boundaries of the countries fixed by treaty. The paragraph on colonies is entirely new. The early framers of the constitution could scarcely have dreamed that their king would become also the sovereign of an immense territory in the depths of Africa, nor that the people of Belgium would eventually inherit his dominion over a Congo Free State.

ART. 3. The boundaries of the state, or of the provinces, or of the communities cannot be changed or rectified except by law.

## TITLE II.

### BELGIAN CITIZENS AND THEIR RIGHTS.

ART. 4. Belgian citizenship is acquired, maintained and lost according to regulations established by the civil law.

The present constitution and the other laws relating to political rights determine what other conditions are necessary for the exercise of these rights.

ART. 5. Naturalization is granted by the Legislative power.

Full naturalization alone admits foreigners to equality with Belgians in the exercise of political rights.

ART. 6. There shall be no distinction of classes in the state.

Belgian citizens are equal before the law ; they alone are admissible to civil and military offices, with such exceptions as may be established by law for particular cases.

ART. 7. Individual liberty is guaranteed.

No one may be prosecuted except in cases provided for by law and in the form therein prescribed.

Except in the case of flagrant offense no one may be arrested without a warrant issued by a magistrate, which ought to be shown at the time of arrest, or at the latest within twenty-four hours thereafter.

ART. 8. No person shall be removed against his will from the jurisdiction of the judge to whom the law assigns him.

ART. 9. No penalty shall be established or enforced except in pursuance of law.

ART. 10. The private domicile is inviolable; no search of premises can take place except in cases provided for by law and according to the form therein prescribed.

ART. 11. No one may be deprived of his property except for the public good and according to the forms established by law, and in consideration of a just compensation previously determined.

ART. 12. Punishment by confiscation of property shall not be established.<sup>1</sup>

ART. 13. Total deprivation of civil rights (*mort civile*) is abolished and shall not be re-established.<sup>2</sup>

ART. 14. Religious liberty and the freedom of public worship, as well as free expression of opinion in all matters, are guaranteed, unless crimes are committed in the use of these liberties.

ART. 15. No one shall be compelled to join in any manner whatever in the forms or ceremonies of any religion, nor to observe its days of rest.

ART. 16. The state shall not interfere either in the appointment<sup>3</sup> or in the installation of the ministers of any religion whatever, nor shall it forbid them to correspond with their superiors or publish their proceedings,

<sup>1</sup> To be understood as forbidding total confiscation of property; otherwise fines would be abolished

<sup>2</sup> *La mort civile* is abolished as a punishment by itself. The condition follows as a secondary consequence of condemnation to death, hard labor or transportation for life.

<sup>3</sup> In most European states the appointment of bishops must be confirmed by the civil authorities. The liberal Catholics of Belgium in preserving the rights of the Holy See thus placed the freedom of all denominations on a better footing than in France or even Switzerland.

subject to the ordinary responsibility of the press and of publication.

Civil marriage shall always precede the religious ceremony, except in cases to be established by law if found necessary.

ART. 17. There shall be freedom of opinion in teaching; all measures preventing this are forbidden; the repression of offenses shall be regulated only by law.

Public instruction given at the expense of the state shall likewise be regulated by law.

ART. 18. The press is free; no censorship shall ever be established; no caution money shall be exacted of writers, publishers or printers.<sup>1</sup>

In case the writer is known and is a resident of Belgium, the publisher, printer or distributor can not be prosecuted.

ART. 19. Belgian citizens have the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, when conforming to the laws which regulate this right, and without previous authorization.

This provision does not apply to assemblies in the open air, which remain entirely under the police laws.

ART. 20. Belgian citizens have the right of association; this right shall not be restricted by any preventive measure.

ART. 21. Any one has the right to address petitions to the public authorities, signed by one or more persons.

The constituted authorities alone have the right to address petitions in the name of the people collectively.

ART. 22. The privacy of correspondence is inviolable.

<sup>1</sup> The press has the further privilege of obligatory jury trial when prosecuted. Compare Articles 96 and 98. The statutes prohibit preventive arrest and give the accused a distinct place among other persons on trial.

The law shall determine who are the agents responsible for the violation of the secrecy of letters entrusted to the post.

ART. 23. The use of the languages spoken in Belgium is optional. This may be regulated only by law and only for acts of public authority and for judicial proceedings.<sup>1</sup>

ART. 24. No previous authorization is necessary to bring action against public officials for the acts of their administration, except as provided for cabinet ministers.

### TITLE III.

#### CONCERNING POWERS.

ART. 25. All powers emanate from the people.

They are to be exercised in the manner established by the constitution.

ART. 26. The Legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate.

ART. 27. Each of the three branches of the Legislative power has the right of initiative.

Nevertheless, all laws relative to the revenues or expenditures of the state or to the army contingent must be voted first by the Chamber of Representatives.

ART. 28. The authoritative interpretation of the laws belongs only to the Legislative power.

ART. 29. The Executive power is vested in the King, subject to the regulations of the constitution.

ART. 30. The Judicial power is exercised by the courts and the tribunals.

<sup>1</sup> The general laws and royal decrees are published in the *Moniteur* in French. They are then reprinted in a special collection with a Flemish translation for the communes using that tongue, but the French alone is the official text. In local administration the language of the district or community is used.

Decrees and judgments are executed in the name of the King.

ART. 31. Affairs exclusively communal or provincial are regulated by the communal or provincial councils, according to the principles established by the constitution.

*Chapter I.*

THE CHAMBERS.

ART. 32. The members of the two Chambers represent the nation, and not the province alone, nor the subdivision of the province which has elected them.

ART. 33. The sessions of the Chambers shall be public. Nevertheless each Chamber may resolve itself into a secret committee upon the demand of its president or ten members.

It may then decide by vote of an absolute majority, whether the session shall be resumed in public upon the same subject.

ART. 34. Each Chamber shall judge of the qualifications of its own members, and shall decide all contests which arise upon that subject.

ART. 35. No person can at the same time be a member of both Chambers.

ART. 36. Any member of either of the two Chambers, who shall be appointed by the Government to any other salaried office except that of minister, and who accepts the same, shall give up his seat immediately, and may resume his duties only by virtue of a new election.<sup>1</sup>

ART. 37. At each session, each of the Chambers shall elect its president, its vice-presidents, and shall form its bureau.

<sup>1</sup> This does not exclude offices of local administration even when salaried.

ART. 38. An absolute majority of the votes is necessary to pass any resolution except as otherwise established by the rules of the Chambers in regard to elections and nominations.<sup>1</sup>

In case of an equal division of votes, the proposition under consideration is rejected.

Neither of the two Chambers can pass a resolution unless a majority of its members are present.

ART. 39. The votes are given *viva voce* or by rising and sitting; the vote on a law as a whole shall always be by roll call and *viva voce*. The election and nomination of candidates shall be by secret ballot.

ART. 40. Each Chamber shall have the right of inquiry into public affairs.

ART. 41. A proposed law cannot be passed by either of the Chambers unless it has been voted upon article by article.

ART. 42. The Chambers have the right to amend and to divide the articles and amendments proposed.

ART. 43. To present petitions in person to the Chambers is forbidden.

Each Chamber has the right to send to the ministers the petitions which are addressed to it. The ministers are obliged to give explanations upon their contents whenever the Chamber demands.

ART. 44. No member of either Chamber shall be arrested or prosecuted on account of opinions or votes expressed by him in the performance of his duties.

ART. 45. No member of either Chamber shall during the continuance of the session be prosecuted or imprisoned after trial, except by the authority of the

<sup>1</sup> For questions requiring a two-thirds vote, see Articles 61, 62 and 131.

Chamber of which he is a member, except in cases of flagrant misdemeanor.

No member of either Chamber shall be arrested during the session, except by the same authority.

The detention or the prosecution of a member of either Chamber is suspended during the session and for the entire term, if the Chamber so demands.

ART. 46. Each Chamber determines by its own rules the mode in which it is to exercise its powers.

### Section I.

#### THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

ART. 47. The members of the Chamber of Representatives shall be chosen by direct election under the following regulations:

One vote is allotted to citizens who have reached the age of twenty-five years, resident for at least one year in the same community and who are not otherwise excluded by law.

One additional vote is allotted in consideration of any one of the following conditions:

1. Having reached the age of thirty-five years, being married or a widower with legitimate offspring, and paying to the state a tax of not less than five francs as a householder, unless exempted on account of his profession.

2. Having reached the age of twenty-five years and being the owner either of real estate of the value of at least 2000 francs, said value to be rated on the basis of the cadastral assessment or, possessing revenues from land corresponding to the said valuation, or being inscribed in the great book of the public debt, or

possessing obligations of the Belgian Government savings-bank bearing at least 100 francs interest.

These inscriptions and bank-books must have belonged to the holder for at least two years.

The property of the wife is counted with that of the husband; that of minor children with that of the father.

Two additional votes are allotted to citizens who have reached the age of twenty-five years, and who fulfill the following conditions:

A. Holding a diploma from an institution of higher instruction, or an endorsed certificate showing the completion of a course of secondary education of the higher degree, without distinction between public or private institutions.

B. Filling or having filled a public office, holding or having held a position, practicing or having practiced a private profession which presupposes that the holder possesses at least the knowledge imparted in secondary instruction of the higher degree. These offices, positions and professions, likewise the time during which they must have been held or practiced, shall be determined by law.

C. No one shall have more than three votes. All ballots shall be identical in form and color.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original article of 1830 required that the deputies be elected directly by citizens paying direct taxes not less than 20 florins (42½ francs) nor more than 100 florins. Since 1848 the qualification has been at the minimum of taxation nevertheless the result has been a very small electorate. In recent years there have been only about 133,000 voters in a population of 6,147,000. The increasing discontent with this state of affairs was the chief cause for the calling of the constitutional convention which met in 1892. As will be seen by Article 131, this body is a re-elected parliament sitting as a constituent assembly. No less than fourteen different schemes for revision of the articles on suffrage were submitted. In the committee universal suffrage was voted down. The result was great,

ART. 48. The constitution of the electoral colleges is regulated by law for each province. Voting is obligatory; it shall take place in the community, when not otherwise determined by law.

ART. 49. The number of representatives is determined by law, according to the population; this number shall not exceed the proportion of one representative for 40,000 inhabitants. The qualifications of an elector and the process of election shall be determined also by law.

ART. 50. To be eligible it is necessary:

1. To be a Belgian citizen by birth, or to have received full naturalization;
2. To enjoy civil and political rights;
3. To have reached the age of twenty-five years;
4. To be a resident of Belgium.

No other condition of eligibility shall be required.

ART. 51. The members of the Chamber of Representatives shall be elected for a term of four years; one-half being elected every two years, in the order determined by the electoral law.

agitation among the working classes, and on the occasion of a socialistic congress which occurred a few days later a serious riot took place in Ghent. The military was called out and matters were somewhat quieted but the people continued to be excited. Parliament then voted to reduce the age of eligibility, but the masses were not satisfied and a universal industrial strike was threatened unless their full demands were complied with. Public feeling was for a time very tense but no great violence occurred, yet all parties in parliament felt compelled to recede from their extreme demands and a compromise was finally effected as we have it in Article 47. It was estimated that the new electorate would raise the number of voters to about 1,200,000, having at their disposal about 1,900,000 votes. The first election showed 1,370,000 voters with 2,111,000 votes. The law which carries this provision into effect enumerates nineteen different classes of professions which are entitled to two extra votes, passing from ministers of state down through lawyers, doctors, druggists, school inspectors to primary teachers. None others than those expressly named can have the additional votes.

In case of dissolution the Chamber shall be entirely renewed.

ART. 52. Each member of the Chamber of Representatives shall receive an annual compensation of 4000 francs.

He shall have, in addition, the right of free transportation upon all state and concessionary railways from the place of his residence to the city where the session is held.<sup>1</sup>

## Section II.

### THE SENATE.

ART. 53. The Senate is composed :

1. Of members elected according to the rate of the population of each province conformably to Article 47; though the law may require that the electors shall have reached the age of thirty years. The provisions of Article 48 are applicable to the election of Senators.

2. Of members elected by the provincial councils, to the number of two for each province having less than 500,000 inhabitants, of three for each province having from 500,000 to 1,000,000 inhabitants, and of four for each province having more than 1,000,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Before the revision representatives received a monthly salary of 400 francs during the continuance of the session, except those who resided in the capital, who received nothing. The free transportation clause is new.

<sup>2</sup> Under the original constitution the Senate was elected by the same class of voters as for the other Chamber, and the number of members was one-half of the representatives. The property qualification was much higher for the amount of tax was something over 2000 francs. The result was that the Senate represented a single class or set of interests in the country and did not have the sympathy of the public. By the addition of members elected by the provincial councils it was hoped to make it a more truly representative body. During the work of revision it was proposed that a certain measure of direct legislation by the people be introduced. This was to be limited to a popular veto on bills which might seem to

ART. 54. The number of Senators to be elected directly by the voters shall be equal to half the number of members of the Chamber of Representatives.

ART. 55. Senators shall be elected for a term of eight years; one-half being elected every four years in the order determined by the electoral law.

In case of dissolution, the Senate shall be entirely renewed.

ART. 56. To be a Senator, it is necessary:

1. To be a Belgian citizen by birth, or to have received full naturalization;
2. To enjoy civil and political rights;
3. To be a resident of Belgium;
4. To be at least forty years of age;
5. To pay into the treasury of the state at least 1200 francs of direct taxes, including licenses;

Or to be either the proprietor or the usufructuary of real estate situated in Belgium, the assessed revenue of which amounts to at least 12,000 francs.

In the provinces where the number of those eligible does not reach the proportion of one for every 5000 inhabitants, the list shall be completed by those residents of the province paying the highest taxes. The citizens on this supplementary list are eligible only in the province where they reside.

The Senators elected by the provincial councils are exempt from all property qualification; they must not be members of the assembly which elects them, nor have

urgently require it, but the peculiar feature of the project was that it was to be left to the discretion of the King when to call for the popular vote. This would have been an interesting experiment, but was calculated to bring the royal executive out of his neutral and irresponsible position. After much discussion this was voted down, as was also the plan for a system of proportional representation which had been insisted on by the ministry then in power.

been members of it during the year of the election nor during the two preceeding years.

ART. 57. Senators shall receive neither salary nor emolument.

ART. 58. The sons of the King, or if there are none, the Belgian princes of the branch of the royal family designated to succeed to the throne, are by right Senators at the age of eighteen years. They have no deliberative vote until twenty-five years of age.

ART. 59. Any assembly of the Senate which may be held at any other time than during the session of the Chamber of Representatives, is null and void.

### *Chapter II.*

#### THE KING AND THE MINISTERS.

##### Section I.—THE KING.

ART. 60. The constitutional powers of the King are hereditary in the direct descendants, natural and legitimate, of His Majesty Leopold-George-Christian-Frederick of Saxe-Coburg, from male to male in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the females and of their descendants.

The prince who shall marry without the consent of the King, or of those, who in his absence exercise his authority as provided by the constitution, shall forfeit his rights to the crown.

Nevertheless, with the consent of the two Chambers, he can be relieved of this forfeiture by the King or by those who, in his absence, exercise his authority according to the constitution.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The clauses relating to the marriage of the heirs apparent were inserted at the last revision.

ART. 61. In default of male descendants of His Majesty Leopold-George-Christian-Frederick of Saxe-Coburg, the King may name his successor, with the consent of the Chambers expressed in the manner prescribed by the following article.

If no nomination has been made after the manner described below, the throne shall be vacant.

ART. 62. The King cannot be at the same time the head of another state without the consent of the two Chambers.

Neither of the Chambers can deliberate upon this point unless two-thirds, at least, of the members who compose it are present, and the resolution must be adopted by at least two-thirds of the votes cast.

ART. 63. The person of the King is inviolable; his ministers are responsible.

ART. 64. No decree of the King can take effect unless it is countersigned by a minister, who, by that act alone, renders himself responsible for it.

ART. 65. The King appoints and dismisses his ministers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Emile de Laveleye in his book on "Government in Democracies," calls attention to an interesting bit of political experience in Belgium. ("*Gouvernement dans la Démocratie*," Vol. I., p. 367.) Several times in the history of the country, ministries have been dismissed when there was still a majority in their favor in the legislature. In 1857 Leopold I. did this because of the great popular outcry against the measures proposed by the cabinet in power. Leopold II. did the same thing in 1871 and again in 1884 because the people were very much excited and the downfall of the ministry was demanded by the large towns, especially the capital. The motive for the act was that the majority in parliament did not represent the majority in the country, and the result was that in every case the agitation of the public was calmed. Laveleye compares this to the conduct of Louis Philippe in 1848, when he insisted on maintaining too long the strict legal rights of the Guizot ministry in the face of popular outcry, until the masses became infuriated and deposed the monarchy itself. The advisability of bending before manifest popular desire is a problem well worth careful study.

ART. 66. He confers the grades in the army.

He appoints the officers of the general administration and for foreign relations, except as otherwise established by law.

He appoints other governmental officials only by virtue of an express provision of law.

ART. 67. He issues all regulations and decrees necessary for the execution of the laws, without power to suspend the laws themselves, or to dispense with their execution.

ART. 68. The King commands the forces both by land and sea, declares war, makes treaties of peace, of alliance and of commerce. He notifies the two Chambers of these acts as soon as the interest and safety of the state permit, adding thereto suitable comments.

Treaties of commerce, and treaties which might burden the state, or bind Belgian citizens individually, shall take effect only after having received the approval of the two Chambers.

No cession, no exchange and no addition of territory can take place except by law. In no case can the secret articles of a treaty be destructive of those openly expressed.

ART. 69. The King sanctions and promulgates the laws.

ART. 70. The Chambers shall assemble each year, the second Tuesday in November, unless they shall have been previously summoned by the King.

The Chambers shall remain in session at least forty days each year.

The King announces the closing of the session.

The King has the right to convoke the Chambers in extra session.

ART. 71. The King has the right to dissolve the Chambers either simultaneously or separately. The act of dissolution shall order a new election within forty days, and summon the Chambers within two months.

ART. 72. The King may adjourn the Chambers. In no case shall the adjournment exceed the term of one month, nor shall it be renewed in the same session, without the consent of the Chambers.

ART. 73. He has the right to remit or reduce the penalties pronounced by the judges of courts except such as are fixed by law in the case of ministers.

ART. 74. He has the right to coin money as regulated by law.

ART. 75. He has the right to confer titles of nobility, but without the power of attaching to them any privilege.

ART. 76. He may confer military orders in accordance with the provisions of the law.

ART. 77. The civil list is to be fixed by law for the duration of each reign.<sup>1</sup>

ART. 78. The King has no other powers than those which the constitution, and the special laws enacted under the constitution, formally confer upon him.

ART. 79. At the death of the King, the Chambers shall assemble without a summons, at the latest on the tenth day after his decease. If the Chambers shall have been previously dissolved, and if in the act of dissolution the reassembling had been fixed for a day later than the tenth day, the former members shall resume duties until the assembling of those who should replace them.

<sup>1</sup> The civil list of the present king, Leopold II., was fixed by the law of 1865 at 3,300,000 francs.

If only one Chamber shall have been dissolved, the same rule shall be followed in regard to that Chamber.

From the date of the death of the King and until the taking of the oath by his successor to the throne, or by the regent, the constitutional powers of the King shall be exercised, in the name of the Belgian people, by the ministers united in council, and upon their responsibility.

ART. 80. The King is of age when he shall have completed the age of eighteen years.

He shall not take possession of the throne until he shall have solemnly taken, before the united Chambers, the following oath:

"I swear to observe the constitution and the laws of the Belgian people, to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the territory."

ART. 81. If, at the death of the King, his successor is a minor, the two Chambers shall unite in one assembly, for the purpose of providing for the regency and guardianship.

ART. 82. If the King becomes incapacitated to reign, the ministers, after having ascertained this incapacity, shall immediately convoke the Chambers. The Chambers assembled together shall provide for the regency and guardianship.

ART. 83. The regency can be conferred upon only one person.

The regent can enter upon his duties only after having taken the oath prescribed by Article 80.

ART. 84. No change in the constitution can be made during a regency.

ART. 85. In case there is a vacancy of the throne, the Chambers deliberating together, shall arrange provisionally for the regency, until the first meeting of the

Chambers after they have been wholly re-elected. That meeting shall take place at the latest within two months. The new Chambers deliberating together shall provide definitely for the vacancy.

## Section II.

### THE MINISTERS.

ART. 86. No person can be a minister unless he is a Belgian citizen by birth, or has received full naturalization.

ART. 87. No member of the royal family can be a minister.

ART. 88. Ministers have no deliberative vote in either Chamber unless they are members of it.

They shall have admission to either Chamber, and are entitled to be heard when they so request.

The Chambers have the right to demand the presence of ministers.

ART. 89. In no case shall the verbal or written order of the King relieve a minister of responsibility.

ART. 90. The Chamber of Representatives has the right to accuse ministers and to arraign them before the Court of Cassation, which, sitting in full bench, alone has the right to judge them, except in such matters as shall be established by law respecting a civil suit by an aggrieved party and respecting crimes and misdemeanors committed by ministers when not in the performance of their duties.

The law shall determine the responsibility of ministers, the penalties to be inflicted on them, and the method of proceeding against them, whether upon accusation accepted by the Chamber of Representatives or by prosecution by the aggrieved parties.

ART. 91. The King can grant pardon to a minister sentenced by the Court of Cassation only upon request of one of the two Chambers.

*Chapter III.*

THE JUDICIARY.

ART. 92. Actions which involve questions of civil rights belong exclusively to the jurisdiction of the tribunals.

ART. 93. Actions which involve questions of political rights belong to the jurisdiction of the tribunals, except as otherwise determined by law.

ART. 94. No tribunal nor contentious jurisdiction shall be established except by law. No commissions nor extraordinary tribunals under any title whatever can be established.

ART. 95. There shall be a Court of Cassation for all Belgium.

This Court shall not consider questions of fact except in the trial of ministers.

ART. 96. The sessions of the tribunals shall be public, unless this publicity is declared by a judgment of the Court to be dangerous to public order or morals.

In cases of political and press-law offences, closed doors can be enforced only by a unanimous vote of the tribunal.

ART. 97. Every judgment shall be pronounced in open court, and the reasons therefor stated.

ART. 98. The right of trial by jury is guaranteed in all criminal cases and for all political and press-law offences.

ART. 99. The justices of the peace and the judges of the tribunals shall be appointed directly by the King.

The councillors of the courts of appeal and the presidents and vice-presidents of the courts of original jurisdiction shall be appointed by the King from two double lists presented the one by these courts and the other by the provincial councils.

The councillors of the Court of Cassation shall be appointed by the King from two double lists presented one by the Senate and one by the Court of Cassation.

In both cases the candidates named upon one list can be named also upon the other.

All the names shall be published at least fifteen days before the appointment.

The courts shall choose their presidents and vice-presidents from among their own number.

ART. 100. Judges shall be appointed for life.

No judge can be deprived of his office nor suspended until after trial and judgment.

The removal of a judge from one place to another can take place only by means of a new appointment and with his consent.

ART. 101. The King appoints and removes the state officials serving in the courts and tribunals.

ART. 102. The salaries of the members of the judiciary shall be fixed by law.

ART. 103. No judge shall accept from the government any salaried office, unless he shall perform the duties thereof gratuitously, and not then if it is contrary to the law of incompatibility.

ART. 104. There shall be three courts of appeal in Belgium.

Their jurisdiction and the places where they shall be held shall be determined by law.

ART. 105. Special laws shall govern the organization of military tribunals, their powers, the rights and obligations of the members of these tribunals, and the duration of their functions.

There shall be tribunals of commerce in places which shall be designated by law. Their organization, powers, the method of appointment of their members and the duration of their term of office shall also be determined by law.

ART. 106. The Court of Cassation shall decide conflicts of jurisdiction, according to the method prescribed by law.

ART. 107. The courts and tribunals shall enforce executive decrees and ordinances, whether general, provincial or local, only so far as they shall conform to the laws.

#### *Chapter IV.*

##### PROVINCIAL AND COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS.

ART. 108. Provincial and communal institutions shall be regulated by law.<sup>1</sup>

The law shall establish the application of the following principles :

1. Direct election, except in the cases which may be established by law in regard to the chiefs of the communal administration, and government commissioners acting in the provincial councils.

2. The relegation to provincial and communal councils of all provincial and communal affairs, without prejudice to the approval of their acts in the cases and according to the procedure determined by law.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of local and provincial government in Belgium, see the paper by E. de Laveleye in the Cobden Club Essays on "Local Government and Taxation," 1875.

3. The publicity of the sittings of the provincial and communal councils within the limits established by law.

4. The publicity of budgets and accounts.

5. The intervention of the King or of the Legislative power to prevent provincial and communal councils from exceeding their powers and from acting against the general welfare.

ART. 109. The keeping of the civil register is exclusively the duty of the communal authorities.

#### TITLE IV.

##### FINANCES.

ART. 110. No tax for the benefit of the state shall be imposed except by law.

No public charge, nor any provincial assessment shall be imposed without the consent of the provincial council.

No public charge nor any communal assessment shall be imposed without the consent of the communal council.

The law shall determine the exceptions which experience shall show to be necessary in regard to provincial and communal taxes.

ART. 111. Taxes for the benefit of the state shall be voted annually.

The laws which impose such taxes shall remain in force for one year only unless they are re-enacted.

ART. 112. No privilege shall be established in regard to taxes.

No exemption or abatement of taxes shall be established, except by law.

ART. 113. Beyond the cases expressly excepted by law, no payment shall be exacted of any citizen other than taxes levied for the benefit of the state, of the

province or of the community. No change shall be made in the existing system of *polders*<sup>1</sup> and *wateringen*,<sup>2</sup> which remain subject to ordinary legislation.

ART. 114. No pension or gratuity shall be paid out of the public treasury without the authority of law.

ART. 115. Each year the Chambers shall fix the law of accounts and vote the budget.

All the receipts and expenditures of the state must be contained in the budget and in the accounts.

ART. 116. The members of the Court of Accounts shall be appointed by the Chamber of Representatives, and for a term fixed by law.

This court is intrusted with the examination and settlement of the accounts of the general administration, and of all persons accountable to the public treasury. It shall guard that no item of the expenditures of the budget shall be overdrawn and that no transfer shall take place.

It shall audit the accounts of the different administrations of the state, and it shall be its duty to gather for this purpose all information and all necessary vouchers.

The general accounts of the state shall be submitted to the Chambers with the comments of the Court of Accounts.

This court shall be organized by law.

ART. 117. The salaries and pensions of the ministers of religion shall be paid by the state; the sums necessary to meet this expenditure shall be entered annually in the budget.

<sup>1</sup> *Polders* are lands reclaimed from the sea by dikes. The owners of these lands are grouped into associations for the maintenance of the dikes and are governed by particular local customs.

<sup>2</sup> *Wateringen* are canals for drainage and irrigation.

## TITLE V.

## THE ARMY.

ART. 118. The method of recruiting the army shall be determined by law. The laws shall also regulate the promotion, the rights and the duties of soldiers.

ART. 119. The army contingent shall be voted annually. The law which fixes this shall remain in force for one year only, unless re-enacted.

ART. 120. The organization and the duties of the constabulary shall be regulated by law.

ART. 121. No foreign troops shall be admitted to the service of the state, to occupy or to cross its territory except by provision of law.

ART. 122. There shall be a citizen militia, the organization of which shall be regulated by law.

The officers of all grades, at least as high as that of captain, shall be chosen by the militia, with such exceptions as may be judged necessary for accountants.

ART. 123. The militia cannot be brought into active service, except when authorized by law.

ART. 124. Soldiers shall not be deprived of their grades, honors and pensions except in the manner prescribed by law.

## TITLE VI.

## GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ART. 125. The Belgian nation adopts for its colors red, yellow and black, and for the coat of arms of the kingdom, the Belgian lion, with the motto, "UNION GIVES STRENGTH."

ART. 126. The city of Brussels is the capital of Belgium and the seat of government.

ART. 127. No oath shall be imposed except by law.

The form of the oath also shall be determined by law.

ART. 128. Every foreigner within the territory of Belgium shall enjoy protection of his person and property, except as otherwise established by law.

ART. 129. No law, ordinance, or regulation of the general, provincial, or communal government shall be obligatory until after having been published in the manner prescribed by law.

ART. 130. The constitution cannot be suspended, either in whole or in part.

#### TITLE VII.

##### THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

ART. 131. The Legislative power has the right to declare that a revision of such constitutional provisions as it shall designate, is in order.

After this declaration, the two Chambers are *ipso facto* dissolved.

Two new Chambers shall then be summoned, in conformity with Article 71.

These Chambers, with the approval of the King, shall then act upon the points submitted for revision.

In this case the Chambers cannot deliberate unless at least two-thirds of the members of each are present, and no amendment can be adopted unless it is sustained by at least two-thirds of the votes.<sup>1</sup>

##### TEMPORARY AND TRANSITIONAL.

[Articles 132 to 139 provide for the transition from the old régime to the new and no longer have any effect on the organization of the state.]

<sup>1</sup> The relative significance of Belgium in the European family of constitutions is developed in Borgeaud's "Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America." 1895. Pp. 190-113.

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15-X-29.2  
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SUPPLEMENT TO THE

ANNALS

OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY

OF

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

MAY 17 1897

VOL. IX., No. 3.

MAY, 1897

WHOLE No. 40.

HANDBOOK

OF THE

ACADEMY.

PHILADELPHIA:

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, 11 and 14 King Street, Westminster, London, E. W.

FRANCE: L. Larose, rue Soufflot, 22, Paris.

GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 1 Prinz Louis Ferdinandstrasse, Berlin, N. W.

ITALY: Direzione del Giornale degli Economisti, Rome, Via Ripetta, 102.

SPAIN: E. Capdeville, Madrid, 9 Plaza de Santa Ana.

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## OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

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"The work of the Academy touches the vital questions of political and social life, and treats them in a thoroughly scientific manner."

*Chicago Herald.*

"The success of the Academy is undoubtedly due to the very liberal spirit in which it was organized and has been conducted. It stands for no dogma; it represents no party and no institution; its motto is the promotion of science, and to this work it invites the professional economist and political scientist; the layman who is interested in a general way in the scientific study of economics and politics; the man of leisure; the public-spirited citizen, and the busy man of affairs, all of whom should take a pride and pleasure in assisting in the progress of science as such in every department of human affairs."

*Public Ledger, Philadelphia.*

"Persons who are interested in political and social science will find the ANNALS of the American Academy extremely serviceable."

*New York Herald.*

"The American Academy of Political and Social Science is publishing a series of papers on financial, economic and sociological topics which evince deep thought and exhaustive study on the part of the writers."

*Daily Chronicle, Spokane.*

"The American Academy of Political and Social Science is an institution which is doing good work in the fields of Sociology, Comparative Constitutional and Administrative Law, Finance, etc., and deserves to be widely known in Europe."

*Herald, Rome, Italy.*

"The ANNALS of the American Academy is issued bi-monthly, and its contents are solid and substantial. This is the most scholarly of all the publications of this sort which are published in the United States."

*Boston Herald.*

"We believe that teachers and intelligent citizens generally will find it of material advantage to connect themselves with this organization, and having this conviction we take pleasure in commending it to their attention."

*North Carolina Teacher.*

"One of the potent influences that have prompted the advancement of scientific knowledge in the United States, in these closing years of the nineteenth century, is the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Its publications are exerting a powerful and wholesome influence on American thought."

*Commercial Gazette, Cincinnati.*

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*Persons interested in the study of political, economic and social questions are eligible for membership. The ANNALS of the Academy is sent to all members free of charge. The annual membership fee is \$5.00; life-membership fee, \$100. Applications for membership should be sent to*

American Academy of Political and Social Science,  
STATION B, PHILADELPHIA.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE  
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
≡  
MAY, 1897.



OF THE

American Academy  
OF  
Political and Social  
Science.

PHILADELPHIA:  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.  
1897.

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## SKETCH OF THE ACADEMY.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science was founded at a meeting held in Philadelphia, December 14, 1889. It was the outgrowth of the desire for an organization in which the widespread interest in political, economic and social discussion should find a focus. For it was felt by those who called the meeting that these interests should have an organ which could properly represent this wide group of sciences, and be at the same time an intermediary between scientific thought and practical effort. In many fields, earnest men and women were at work in various reform movements, without co-operation, and, above all, without the sympathy and support of those pursuing allied interests, whether in a practical or a theoretical way.

These considerations were laid before the preliminary meeting held in December, 1889, and led to the foundation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. At that meeting, the Constitution of the Academy was adopted, officers elected and methods of work outlined. Soon after the foundation of the Academy, a proposition was received from the Philadelphia Social Science Association, looking to a merging of that organization with the newly formed Academy. This proposition was accepted, the members of the Philadelphia Social Science Association becoming members of the Academy, and the publications of the older association passing into its control. A record of the useful and honorable career of the Philadelphia Social Science Association was prepared by Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten and published in the ANNALS for March, 1891.

With this nucleus for a membership, the Academy started under fair auspices, and the rapid growth which soon followed more than justified the hopes of its founders. With each increase in membership it has been possible to extend the scope and usefulness of the Academy's work. The record of activity since the foundation of the Academy has been one of constant growth and expansion. Through the active co-operation of its members and of scholars throughout the world, it has been able to pursue the aims of its founders with a degree of success

which is cause for congratulation. We stand, however, at the beginning of our work. Deep problems of varied character beset modern society, and the intelligent consideration of them demands an unremitting intellectual labor.

The object of the Academy, as stated in its constitution, is the promotion of the political and social sciences, in the comprehensive sense of those terms. It has sought to stimulate discussion through holding public meetings, and to foster scientific research through its publications. In both of these chief avenues of its activity it has been singularly successful.

The meetings of the Academy have been held at irregular intervals through the winter months in the city of Philadelphia. At the outset several papers were often read at each meeting, but experience has shown that unless the topics of the papers be related, and furnish the basis of a common discussion, this plan has its disadvantages. More recently each meeting has been devoted to a single topic which has been fruitful in stimulating discussion. In presenting a record of the meetings of the Academy, it has been found practicable to record only the principal speakers and the titles of their papers. Such a list shows the wide variety of topics which fall within the Academy's activity and their importance to the welfare of the community.

The meetings of the Academy have been as follows:

1. March 21, 1890.—Dr. Stuart Wood, "Theories of Wages."  
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Decay of Local and State Governments in the United States."
2. April 29, 1890.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "Province of Sociology."  
Prof. E. J. James, "A New System of Passenger Fares."
3. November 13, 1890.—Prof. W. P. Holcomb, "Our National Bureau of Education."  
Prof. F. N. Thorpe, "Are the State Governments Decaying?"
4. December 12, 1890.—Prof. C. Stuart Patterson, "The Original Package Decision."
5. January 14, 1891.—Dr. John S. Billings, "Public Health and Municipal Government."
6. February 12, 1891.—Mr. F. W. Holls, "Compulsory Voting."
7. March 12, 1891.—Mr. F. B. Hawley, "Preliminaries to the Discussion of Socialism."

8. April 17, 1891.—Mr. E. R. Johnson, "River and Harbor Bills."
9. May 15, 1891.—Mr. E. P. Oberholtzer, "American Forms of the Referendum."  
     Prof. S. N. Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition."
10. November 24, 1891.—Mr. F. P. Prichard, "The Study of Municipal Government."  
     Mr. Lincoln L. Eyre, "The Relation of National Party to Municipal Government."  
     Mr. William Draper Lewis, "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."
11. December 15, 1891.—Mr. D. I. Green, "Value as a Quality Instead of a Ratio."  
     Mr. Charles Richardson, "Party Government."
12. January 26, 1892.—Dr. Charles De Garmo, "Ethical Training in the Public Schools."
13. February 26, 1892.—Mr. R. H. Dana, "The Practical Working of the Australian Voting System in Massachusetts."  
     Mr. C. C. Binney, "Merits and Defects of the Pennsylvania Ballot Law of 1891."
14. April 5, 1892.—Prof. E. P. Cheyney, "A Third Revolution."  
     Mr. L. K. Stein, "The Relation of the Street Railways to the City of Philadelphia."
15. May 13, 1892.—Mrs. S. L. Oberholtzer, "School Savings Banks."  
     Mr. H. I. Smith, "Postal Savings Banks."
16. November 30, 1892.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "The Ethics of Social Progress."
17. January 12, 1893.—Mr. Horace White, "National and State Banks."  
     Hon. M. D. Harter, "American Banking and the Money Supply of the Future."  
     Hon. J. H. Walker, "The Banking System Old and New."
18. February 23, 1893.—Dr. Isaac Sharpless, "The Relation of the State to Education in England and America."
19. April 27, 1893.—Prof. L. F. Ward, "The Political Ethics of Herbert Spencer."
20. November 17, 1893.—Prof. R. P. Falkner, "The Monetary Conference of 1892."
21. December 20, 1893.—Dr. L. S. Rowe, "Some Factors of Municipal Efficiency."

22. February 8, 1894.—President J. F. Crowell, "Co-operative Study of Political Ethica."
23. March 16, 1894.—Mr. E. L. Godkin, "Problems of Municipal Government."
24. April 20, 1894.—Dr. J. G. Brooks, "The Future Problem of Charity and the Unemployed."
25. May 11, 1894.—Mr. Edward Porritt, "Break-up of the Old System of Two Parties in the House of Commons."
26. October 25, 1894.—Dr. E. R. L. Gould, "The Liquor Problem and Its Scientific Treatment."
27. November 27, 1894.—Prof. S. N. Patten, "Teaching of Political Economy in the Public Schools."
28. January 30, 1895.—F. J. Stimson, Esq., "Uniform State Legislation on Subjects of Extra Territorial Effect."
29. March 7, 1895.—Prof. J. W. Jenks, "Proportional Representation."
30. November 13, 1895.—Prof. L. M. Keasbey, "Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine."
31. December 18, 1895.—Dr. S. M. Lindsay, "Social Observation; or, the Modern City as a Laboratory."
32. January 22, 1896.—Prof. George Wharton Pepper, "The Methods of Legal Education."
33. February 27, 1896.—Mr. W. M. F. Round, "The Higher Economics of Penology; or, The Value of Reformatory Effort."
34. March 28, 1896.—Hon. Martin A. Knapp, "Railway Pooling, the Conditions Under Which It Could be Legalized."
35. April 22, 1896.—D. S. Remsen, Esq., "The Fusion of Political Parties, Australian Methods and Results."
36. November 20, 1896.—Prof. Roland P. Falkner, "The Organization of the Census."
37. December 18, 1896.—Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler, "The Administration of City Schools."
38. February 25, 1897.—Dr. Edward T. Devine, "The Shifting and Floating City Population."
39. March 28, 1897.—Prof. Sidney T. Sherwood, "The Philosophic Basis of Economics: A Word to the Sociologists."
40. April 21, 1897.—Prof. Edmund J. James, "Training for Citizenship."
41. April 22, 1897.—Mr. George E. Bartol, "Foreign Commerce and Its Relation to National Prosperity."

Prof. E. R. Johnson, "American Manufactures in Foreign Markets."

Hon. Robert Adams, Jr., "Opening of Foreign Markets to American Goods."

42. April 22, 1897.—Dr. Joseph H. Senner, "The Immigration Question."

43. April 22, 1897.—Hon. James H. Eckels, "The National Banking System."

The publications of the Academy have been issued under the title ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the Supplements to the ANNALS. In the ANNALS there have appeared a large number of papers submitted to the Academy, which have been read and discussed at its meetings, as well as many read by title only. Thus, the fruitful and stimulating influence of the Academy upon scientific research has been brought to the knowledge of its members. It would be superfluous to name here all the important contributions which have been made to political and social science through the Academy, but a classification of subjects and authors may be a useful means of recording this feature of the Academy's work:

BANKING.—Henry Bacon, M. D. Harter, A. B. Hepburn, J. H. Walker, Horace White, H. W. Williams.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.—G. Arancio Ruiz, E. J. James, J. H. Robinson, R. Saleilles, F. N. Thorpe, W. C. Webster.

CRIME.—R. P. Falkner, C. H. Reeve, C. D. Wright.

ECONOMIC THEORY.—E. Boehm-Bawerk, M. Block, J. B. Clark, W. Cunningham, D. I. Green, A. T. Hadley, J. A. Hobson, J. H. Hollander, A. Loria, D. M. Lowrey, C. W. Macfarlane, S. M. McVane, L. S. Merriam, S. N. Patten, E. A. Ross, G. Schmoller, William Smart, W. G. L. Taylor, C. A. Tuttle, L. Walras, F. v. Welser, Stuart Wood.

EDUCATION.—E. W. Bemis, F. W. Blackmar, C. DeGarmo, S. N. Patten, D. G. Ritchie, Isaac Sharpless.

FINANCE.—E. L. Bogart, E. R. Buckley.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.—W. D. Dabney, S. B. Harding, D. Kinley, E. Levasseur.

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.—C. M. Andrews, W. J. Ashley, E. P. Cheyney.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.—A. S. Hershey, E. W. Huffcutt, E. L. Lord.

- JURISPRUDENCE.**—F. G. Buckstaff, R. H. Curtis, C. A. Reed, F. J. Stimson, F. M. Taylor, C. G. Tiedeman.
- MONEY.**—F. Fetter, W. Lotz, C. W. Macfarlane, G. Molesworth, Duc de Noailles, E. A. Ross, W. A. Scott, J. Allen Smith, T. Williams, A. B. Woodford.
- MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.**—J. R. Commons, E. L. Godkin, W. D. Lewis, F. P. Prichard, C. Richardson.
- POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.**—C. Bornhak, J. G. Bourinot, G. Bradford, E. D. Durand, G. H. Haynes, E. J. James, J. Macy, A. D. Morse, B. Moses, S. N. Patten, E. Porritt, F. Snow, L. Waurin.
- POLITICAL REFORMS.**—C. C. Binney, J. R. Commons, F. W. Holls, E. J. James, J. W. Jenks, E. P. Oberholtzer, D. S. Remsen.
- POLITICAL THEORY.**—F. I. Herriott, D. G. Ritchie, E. V. Robinson, J. H. Robinson.
- SOCIAL QUESTIONS.**—J. G. Brooks, C. H. Cooley, J. W. Davidson, E. T. Heyn, G. K. Holmes, S. M. Lindsay, J. Mayor, W. Milliet, S. L. Oberholtzer.
- SOCIOLOGY.**—A. F. Bentley, G. A. Flamingo, F. H. Giddings, H. H. Powers, W. D. Lewis, S. N. Patten, W. H. Schoff, G. Simmel, L. F. Ward.
- TAXATION.**—T. N. Carver, R. T. Colburn, F. C. Howe, E. R. Johnson, E. A. Ross.
- TRANSPORTATION.**—R. T. Colburn, J. P. Davis, E. R. Johnson, L. M. Keasbey, M. A. Knapp, J. W. Miller, H. T. Newcomb.
- UNCLASSIFIED.**—C. Bornhak, J. L. Brownell, F. C. Clark, M. M. Dawson, E. T. Devine, H. S. Dudley, R. P. Falkner, D. M. Frederiksen, C. de Lestrade, M. A. Mikkelsen, P. de Rousiers, L. S. Rowe, T. B. Veblen.

In addition to the publication of papers presented to the Academy, the editors have sought to make the ANNALS helpful to students of political and social science by furnishing as complete a record as possible of publications and events which have a bearing upon the development of those subjects. Particular attention has been devoted to the notice and review of books, a large part of each issue of the ANNALS being devoted to this object. In this record the varied interests of those who compose the Academy have been kept in view, and through it the cordial co-operation of scholars in all parts of the world has been en-

listed in the work of the Academy. As time has progressed, the editorial conduct of the ANNALS has been strengthened, and the co-operation of an increasing number of scholars has been obtained.

The Academy has been fortunate in preserving the continuity of editorial work, in connection with the ANNALS, and the record of its growth is a continuous one.

The first issue of the ANNALS was made in July, 1890. The Board of Editors consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, and Professors Franklin H. Giddings and Roland P. Falkner as Associate Editors. In the first instance, the ANNALS was issued as a quarterly. The success of the enterprise and the cordial support of scholars which was received, made it possible in the second volume, commencing with the number for July, 1891, to issue the ANNALS every other month. In the same year the list of editors was enlarged by the addition of the name of Professor James H. Robinson. With the close of the second volume of the ANNALS, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who had accepted a position at Columbia University, resigned as Associate Editor.

Up to this time there had been no specific distribution of the editorial work, and the care of the Book Department, in particular, had been in the charge of Professors Falkner and Robinson. With the third volume, the first issue of which was in July, 1892, the Editorial Board consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, Professor Roland P. Falkner and James H. Robinson as Associate Editors. No change occurred in the Editorial Board until January, 1896. But, in the meantime, a somewhat different organization of the editorial work secured the co-operation of a number of other scholars. Thus, the Book Department in Volume III. was in charge of Professor Roland P. Falkner and Dr. Emory R. Johnson. With the issue of July, 1893, which began the fourth volume of the ANNALS, Dr. Emory R. Johnson took exclusive charge of the Book Department, and remained in charge of this work until January, 1896. With the third issue of the fifth volume (November, 1894), there was established in each number of the ANNALS a Department of Notes on Municipal Government, under the charge of Dr. L. S. Rowe, and with the issue of January, 1895, a Department of Sociological Notes, under the charge of Dr. S. M. Lindsay. These gentlemen have continued this work until the present time.

The bulk of the ANNALS continued to increase so that the bound volumes became too awkward to handle, and, in accordance with a desire expressed by many readers of the ANNALS, the yearly publications have been, from July, 1895, published as two volumes annually, each volume containing three numbers.\*

With the issue of January, 1896, a series of changes was made in the editorial conduct of the ANNALS. The removal of Professor James to Chicago made it impossible for him to retain the responsibilities of Editor-in-Chief, but it was the general desire that he should continue his editorial connection with the ANNALS. He became Associate Editor, while the editorship was filled by the promotion of Professor Roland P. Falkner. Professor Robinson had, in the meantime, been called to Columbia University, New York, and found it necessary to give up his work in the ANNALS. His place as Associate Editor was filled by the appointment of Professor Emory R. Johnson, who had long been connected with the Book Department of the ANNALS. This place being thus rendered vacant, it was filled by the appointment of Professor Henry R. Seager, who has had charge of the Book Department since January, 1896. No further change in the personnel of the editorial corps has taken place since January, 1896.

A distinctive feature of the work of the Academy has been the promotion of scientific research through the publication of longer monographs and articles. The editors have considered solely the scientific value of the material which has been presented to them, and have not hesitated to publish in the ANNALS itself articles whose length considerably exceeds that of the customary contribution to scientific periodicals. In addition to this there have been published from time to time, supplements devoted to various topics connected with the work of the Academy. An inspection of the list which has been published shows important contributions to statistics, economic history, transportation, constitutional law, and sociology. To the Academy is due the credit

\* The following statement shows in figures the growth of the publishing activity of the Academy:

1890-91	ANNALS,	754 pp.	Supplements,	363 pp.
1891-92	"	896 pp.		
1892-93	"	852 pp.	"	148 pp.
1893-94	"	1016 pp.	"	314 pp.
1894-95	"	1049 pp.	"	178 pp.
1895-96	"	1146 pp.	"	191 pp.
1896-97	"	1124 pp.	"	84 pp.

of having first published in the English language a systematic work upon the subject of statistics, and of having made accessible to students of political science the constitutional laws of European nations. Not less important have been the other contributions which have been published in this form. A list of such publications up to the present time, is as follows:

- 1891.—"Public Health and Municipal Government," by Dr. John S. Billings. Pp. 23.
- 1891.—"History, Theory and Technique of Statistics," by Prof. August Meitzen; translated by Prof. Roland P. Falkner. Pp. 243.
- 1893.—"Constitution of the United States of Colombia," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. Bernard Moses. Pp. 70.
- 1893.—"Constitutional and Organic Laws of France," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. O. F. A. Currier. Pp. 78.
- 1893.—"Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation," by Prof. Emory R. Johnson. Pp. 164.
- 1894.—"History of Political Economy," by Prof. Gustav Cohn; translated by Dr. Joseph Adna Hill. Pp. 142.
- 1894.—"The Theory of Sociology," by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. Pp. 80.
- 1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. James Harvey Robinson. Pp. 54.
- 1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. M. Lindsay and Prof. L. S. Rowe. Pp. 44.
- 1896.—"The Theory of Social Forces," by Prof. Simon N. Patten. Pp. 151.
- 1896.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Belgium," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. John M. Vincent and Ada S. Vincent. Pp. 40.

In presenting this brief record of the work of the Academy, we are conscious that the work has been favored by the conservative policy which has retained experienced officers in their positions. Professor Edmund J. James was elected President of the Academy at its first meeting and continues to occupy that post. We may conclude our record with a summary statement of the officers of the Academy which shows a like continued service on

the part of Professor F. H. Giddings as Second Vice-President, Mr. Stuart Wood as Treasurer, and Professor John L. Stewart as Librarian.

President, Edmund J. James, 1890-

First Vice-President, Henry C. Lea, 1890-95.

Roland P. Falkner, 1896-

Second Vice-President, F. H. Giddings, 1890-

Third Vice-President, W. P. Holcomb, 1890-94.

Woodrow Wilson, 1895-

Corresponding Secretary, Roland P. Falkner, 1890-95.

Henry R. Seager, 1896-

Recording Secretary, George Henderson, 1890-92.

Clinton R. Woodruff, 1893-

General Secretary, Clinton R. Woodruff, 1890-92.

John Quincy Adams, 1894-

Treasurer, Stuart Wood, 1890-

Librarian, John L. Stewart, 1890-

**CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION**  
**OF**  
**The American Academy of Political and Social Science.**

**BE IT KNOWN**, That the subscribers, having associated themselves together for the purpose of promoting the progress of the political and social sciences, and being desirous of becoming incorporated agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved the twenty-ninth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and its supplements, do hereby declare, set forth and certify that the following are the purposes, objects, articles and conditions of their said Association, for and upon which they desire to be incorporated:

**I. The name of the Corporation shall be THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

**II. The purpose for which the Corporation is formed is the promotion of the progress of the political and social sciences.**

**III. The place where the business of said Corporation is to be transacted is the city of Philadelphia.**

**IV. The Corporation is to exist perpetually.**

**V. The names and residences of the subscribers are as follows:**

**Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.**  
**Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia.**  
**Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.**  
**Joseph G. Rosengarten, 1532 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.**  
**Simon Nelson Patten, 221 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia.**  
**Edmund Janes James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.**

VI. The Corporation is to be managed by a Board of Directors, consisting of nine members, and the names and residences of those chosen Directors for the first year are:

Edmund Janes James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.  
 Franklin H. Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.  
 Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.  
 George Henderson, 1420 Master St., Philadelphia.  
 Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.  
 William Penn Holcomb, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.  
 Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 822 Windsor Square, Phila.  
 Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia.  
 John Lammey Stewart, 1826 Dickinson St., Philadelphia.

VII. The clear yearly value of the property to be held by the Corporation will not exceed the sum of thirty thousand dollars.

Witness our hands and seals this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one (1891).

STUART WOOD,  
 HENRY C. LEA,  
 ROLAND POST FALKNER,  
 JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN,  
 SIMON N. PATTEN,  
 EDMUND J. JAMES.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, }  
 County of Philadelphia. } ss.

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds of the County of Philadelphia, personally appeared Roland Post Falkner, Simon N. Patten and Edmund J. James, three of the subscribers of the above and foregoing Certificate of Incorporation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and in due form of law acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Witness my hand and official seal this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini 1891.

JOS. K. FLETCHER,  
 Deputy Recorder.

# DECREE.

In the Court of Common Pleas No. 3 of Philadelphia County, of March Term, 1891. No. 314.

And now, this fourth day of April, A. D. 1891, the above Certificate of Incorporation having been presented to me, a Law

Judge of said County, accompanied by due proof of publication of the notice of this application as required by the Act of Assembly and rule of this Court in such case made and provided, I certify that I have examined and perused the said writing, and have found the same to be in proper form and within the purposes named in the first class specified in Section Second of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved April 29, 1874, and the supplements thereto, and the same appearing to be lawful and not injurious to the community, I do hereby, on motion of C. Stuart Patterson on behalf of petitioners, order and direct that the said Certificate of Incorporation or charter of THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE aforesaid be, and the same is hereby approved, and that upon the recording of the same and of this order the subscribers thereto and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of "THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE," for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

HENRY REED.

[SEAL]

Recorded in the office for recording deeds in and for the County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book 17, page 123.

Witness my hand and seal of office this fourth day of April, Anno Domini 1891.

THOMAS GREEN,  
Recorder of Deeds.

# **The American Academy of Political and Social Science.**

## **CONSTITUTION.**

### **ART. I.**

#### *Name.*

This Association shall be known as The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

### **ART. II.**

#### *Object.*

The object of the Academy is the promotion of the political and social sciences in the comprehensive sense of those terms.

With no intention of excluding other suitable means, the following methods may be enumerated as of special importance in furthering the ends of the Society:

1. Accumulation of a library of works pertaining to the subjects cultivated by the Academy, and, in general, the provision of facilities for research.
2. Encouragement of investigation by the offering of prizes for specified contributions to science, and by extending pecuniary aid in suitable cases to students and investigators.
3. Publication of valuable papers and reports presented to the Academy either by members or others.
4. Regular meetings for the presentation and discussion of papers and other contributions to political and social science.
5. Dissemination of political and economic knowledge throughout the community by the establishment of public lecture courses in political and social science, and by such other means as may from time to time seem expedient.

### **ART. III.**

The Academy shall consist of a Council and members, the former to be chosen from the latter.

### **ART. IV.**

Any person may become a member of the Academy who, having been proposed by a member, shall be approved by the Council.

The fees of the members shall be fixed by the Council.

The Council may, by a majority vote of all members, create new forms of membership at discretion.

Members shall be entitled to receive the regular reports of the proceedings of the Academy; and to such other privileges as the Constitution and By-Laws of the Academy may confer upon them.

ART. V.

*The Council.*

The Council shall consist of at least ten members, chosen in the first instance by the Academy. It shall be authorized to enlarge its number at pleasure, and to fill all vacancies: provided that no person shall be chosen a Councilor who is not known to be actively interested in the promotion of some phase of political or social science, either in a theoretical or practical way: and provided further, that at least one-fifth of the Council shall be renewed each year, retiring members being re-eligible indefinitely.

To the Council shall be committed the control and management of the business and interests of the Academy, subject only to the restrictions of this Constitution. It shall choose its own officers and committees, determining their number and functions, such officers and committees being *ex-officio* the officers and committees of the Academy.

The Council shall make each year a report of its proceedings to the Academy, and may request the co-operation of members and others in the work of the Academy.

The Council shall be authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations for the conduct of the Academy, not in conflict with this instrument.

Any member or Councilor may be struck from the list if more than three months in arrear for the annual fee or other fees levied by the Academy: provided that at least two notices shall have been sent that such fee or fees are due.

Any Councilor may be expelled from the Academy by a majority vote of all members of the Council: provided that printed notice be given to each member at least one month beforehand of intention to make such motion.

ART. VI.

*Amendments.*

Amendments to this Constitution may be made when proposed by a majority of all the Councilors and approved by a majority

of all the members present at any regular meeting: provided that the number present shall be at least one-tenth of all the members: and provided further that a notice of such proposed amendment shall have been given at the preceding regular meeting, and a printed copy sent to each member at least one month before such voting.

**BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

1. The officers of the Council shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, three Secretaries—entitled respectively Recording, Corresponding and General—a Treasurer and a Librarian.

2. They shall be chosen for one year, and hold office until their successors are duly qualified.

3. Their duties shall be such as are usually assigned to such officers, subject to qualification and definition by the Council.

4. The officers of the Council, together with such members as may be chosen by the Council for one year, shall constitute an Executive Committee, with such powers as may be entrusted to it by the Council.

5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury except on order of the Executive Committee or Council, countersigned by the Recording Secretary, who shall keep a list of such orders, their date, amounts and payees.

6. Changes may be made in these By-Laws at any regular meeting of the Council by a majority of those present.

7. Any one may become a life member by the payment of \$100 at one time; and a patron by the payment of \$500 at one time; and both life members and patrons shall be exempt from the payment of annual fees, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of members.

8. Seven members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at any regular meeting of the Council.

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Canada . . . . .	30	Germany . . . . .	10
Mexico . . . . .	5	Great Britain—	
United States . . . . .	1582	England . . . . .	30
West Indies . . . . .	5	Ireland . . . . .	4
<b>CENTRAL AMERICA—</b>		Scotland . . . . .	8
Costa Rica . . . . .	3	Holland . . . . .	3
<b>SOUTH AMERICA—</b>		Italy . . . . .	9
Brazil . . . . .	2	Malta . . . . .	1
Chile . . . . .	1	Norway . . . . .	2
Colombia . . . . .	2	Roumania . . . . .	1
<b>AFRICA—</b>		Russia . . . . .	1
Natal . . . . .	1	Spain . . . . .	2
<b>ASIA—</b>		Sweden . . . . .	1
China . . . . .	1	Switzerland . . . . .	2
India . . . . .	2	<b>OCEANICA—</b>	
Japan . . . . .	7	Hawaii . . . . .	1
<b>EUROPE—</b>		Tasmania . . . . .	1
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	5		
Belgium . . . . .	1	Total . . . . .	1735

### DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama . . . . .	7	Kentucky . . . . .	19
Arizona . . . . .	5	Louisiana . . . . .	10
Arkansas . . . . .	6	Maine . . . . .	12
California . . . . .	44	Maryland . . . . .	36
Colorado . . . . .	21	Massachusetts . . . . .	121
Connecticut . . . . .	47	Michigan . . . . .	41
Delaware . . . . .	6	Minnesota . . . . .	22
District of Columbia . . . . .	40	Mississippi . . . . .	5
Florida . . . . .	6	Missouri . . . . .	26
Georgia . . . . .	12	Montana . . . . .	13
Idaho . . . . .	1	Nebraska . . . . .	17
Illinois . . . . .	110	New Hampshire . . . . .	4
Indiana . . . . .	22	New Jersey . . . . .	29
Iowa . . . . .	22	New Mexico . . . . .	6
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North Carolina . . . . .	15	Utah . . . . .	2
North Dakota . . . . .	6	Vermont . . . . .	6
Ohio . . . . .	39	Virginia . . . . .	7
Oregon . . . . .	4	Washington . . . . .	9
Pennsylvania . . . . .	430	West Virginia . . . . .	3
Rhode Island . . . . .	20	Wisconsin . . . . .	35
South Carolina . . . . .	5	Wyoming . . . . .	3
South Dakota . . . . .	6		
Tennessee . . . . .	17	Total . . . . .	1582
Texas . . . . .	37		

There are in addition to the above, 167 subscribers to the ANNALS, so that the total number of members and subscribers on May 1, 1897, was 1902.

# Publications of the Academy.

The papers which the American Academy of Political and Social Science has published have been submitted by distinguished scholars both at home and abroad, and discuss topics of interest in all the phases of political and social science, political economy, and public law. The following list will give some idea of the varied scope of the Academy's publications. Under each subject are the titles of a few of the papers which have been printed in that field.

## POLITICAL SCIENCE.

No.

- 19. *Genesis of a Written Constitution.* By Prof. W. C. MOREY, University of Rochester.
- 37. *Congress and the Cabinet.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Boston.
- 60. *Cabinet Government in the United States.* By Dr. FREEMAN SNOW.
- 65. *Sir Wm. Temple on the Origin and Nature of Government.* By Prof. F. I. HERRIOTT, Des Moines.
- 67. *Sidgwick's Elements of Politics.* By Prof. J. H. ROBINSON, Columbia University.

## CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

- 9. *Original Features in the United States Constitution.* By Prof. J. H. ROBINSON, Columbia University.
- 151. *Development of the Present Constitution of France.* By Prof. R. SALEILLES, University of Dijon.
- 155. *The Amendments to the Italian Constitution.* By Prof. G. ARANGIO RUIZ, University of Naples.
- Besides translations of the *Constitution of France* (No. 86); *Belgium* (No. 171); *Italy* (No. 135); *Prussia* (No. 127); *Mexico* (No. 27), and *Colombia* (No. 79).

## POLITICAL REFORM.

- 22. *Compulsory Voting.* By F. W. HOLLS, New York.
- 40. *Law Making by Popular Vote.* By E. P. OBERHOLTZER, Ph. D., Philadelphia.
- 54. *Proportional Representation.* By Prof. JOHN R. COMMONS, Syracuse University.
- 177. *Fusion of Political Parties.* By D. S. REMSEN, New York.

## MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

- 118. *The Problems of Municipal Government.* By EDW. L. GODKIN, New York.
- 146. *State Supervision for Cities.* By Prof. JOHN R. COMMONS, Syracuse University.
- 88. *Our Failures in Municipal Government.* By GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Boston.
- 90. *Home Rule for Our American Cities.* By ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER, Philadelphia.

## SOCIOLOGY.

- 125. *Theory of Sociology.* By Prof. F. H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University.
- 121. *Failure of Biologic Sociology.* By Prof. SIMON N. PATTEN, University of Pennsylvania.
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## THE SILVER QUESTION.

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76. *Seligman's Shifting and Incidence of Taxation.* By Prof. E. A. ROSS, Leland Stanford, Jr., University.
110. *Federal Revenues and the Income Tax.* By FREDERIC C. HOWE, New York.
116. *Relation of Taxation to Monopolies.* By Prof. E. R. JOHNSON, University of Pennsylvania.
153. *Minimum Principle in the Tariff of 1828 and its Recent Revival.* By S. B. HARTING, Ph. D., Cambridge.

## EDUCATION.

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188. *The High School System.* By L. R. HARLEY, Ph. D., North Wales, Pa.

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132. *Reasonable Railway Rates.* By H. T. NEWCOMB, Washington.
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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

No. 224.

Issued Fortnightly.

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ACADEMY.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science <sup>Date of</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>Organization</sup> founded at a meeting held in Philadelphia, December 14, 1889. It was the outgrowth of the desire for an organization in which the widespread interest in political, economic and social discussion should find a focus. It was felt by those who called the meeting that these interests should have an organ which could properly represent this wide group of sciences, and be at the same time an intermediary between scientific thought and practical effort. In many fields, earnest men and women were at work in various reform movements, without co-operation, and, above all, without the sympathy and support of those pursuing allied interests, whether in a practical or a theoretical way.

These considerations were laid before the preliminary meeting <sup>The Academy</sup> ~~held~~ <sup>Idea</sup> in December, 1889, and led to the foundation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The Academy form of organization was adopted advisedly. It was not the intention of the founders to form an exclusive and small body of experts on these subjects, but to make the Academy idea thoroughly democratic. This, it is true, is something of a departure from the current notion of an Academy as developed by learned bodies, both in this country and abroad. Nevertheless it is desired to maintain the essential principle of all Academies, namely, co-operation and mutual fellowship among the members. The council determined to admit to the American Academy of Political and Social Science anyone of high or humble station, of great or small intellectual attainments, providing only that a sincere interest in the search for light and truth concerning social and economic questions was manifest. The data of the social sciences are so widely distributed in time and space and are to be derived so directly from the experience and thought of individuals in all stations of life, that it probably lies within the range of possibility for every human being who will observe and reflect upon the commonest experiences of every-day life to contribute something to the sum of knowledge on these subjects. It is therefore, one of the objects of the Academy to stimulate and direct such observation and reflection on the part of all those

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At the outset several papers were often read at each meeting, but experience has shown that unless the topics of the papers are related, and furnish the basis of a common discussion, this plan has its disadvantages. More recently each meeting has been devoted to a single topic which has been fruitful in stimulating discussion. In presenting a record of the meetings of the Academy, it has been found practicable to record only the principal speakers and the titles of their papers. Such a list shows the wide variety of topics which fall within the Academy's activity and their importance to the welfare of the community.

The meetings of the Academy have been as follows:

1. March 21, 1890.—Dr. Stuart Wood, "Theories of Wages."  
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Decay of Local and State Governments in the United States."
2. April 29, 1890.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "Province of Sociology."  
Prof. E. J. James, "A New System of Passenger Fares."
3. November 13, 1890.—Prof. W. P. Holcomb, "Our National Bureau of Education."  
Prof. F. N. Thorpe, "Are the State Governments Decaying?"
4. December 12, 1890.—Prof. C. Stuart Patterson, "The Original Package Decision."
5. January 14, 1891.—Dr. John S. Billings, "Public Health and Municipal Government."
6. February 12, 1891.—Mr. F. W. Holls, "Compulsory Voting."
7. March 12, 1891.—Mr. F. B. Hawley, "Preliminaries to the Discussion of Socialism."
8. April 17, 1891.—Mr. E. R. Johnson, "River and Harbor Bills."
9. May 15, 1891.—Mr. E. P. Oberholtzer, "American Forms of the Referendum."  
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition."
10. November 24, 1891.—Mr. F. P. Prichard, "The Study of Municipal Government."  
Mr. Lincoln L. Eyre, "The Relation of National Party to Municipal Government."  
Mr. William Draper Lewis, "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."

#### 4 AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

who come in touch with this work that they may become, first of all, more intelligent citizens, and secondly, that each member may be willing to assist any other member, through the medium of our publications and, when called upon, through correspondence, in the securing of information from all quarters bearing on social and economic problems. The present large membership, widely distributed geographically, has enabled us to realize already in some small measure this large ideal.

Philadelphia  
Social Science  
Association  
affiliated

At the first meeting the Constitution of the Academy was adopted, officers elected and methods of work outlined. Soon after the foundation of the Academy, a proposition was received from the Philadelphia Social Science Association, looking to a merging of that organization with the newly formed Academy. This proposition was accepted, the members of the Philadelphia Social Science Association becoming members of the Academy, and the publications of the older association passing into its control. A record of the useful and honorable career of the Philadelphia Social Science Association was prepared by Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten and published in the ANNALS for April, 1891.

Membership

With this nucleus for a membership, the Academy started under fair auspices, and the rapid growth which soon followed more than justified the hopes of its founders. With each increase in membership it has been possible to extend the scope and usefulness of the Academy's work. The record of activity since the foundation of the Academy has been one of constant growth and expansion. Through the active co-operation of its members and of scholars throughout the world, it has been able to pursue the aims of its founders with a degree of success which is cause for congratulation. We stand, however, at the beginning of our work. Deep problems of varied character beset modern society, and the intelligent consideration of them demands an unremitting intellectual labor.

Aims

The object of the Academy, as stated in its constitution, is the promotion of the political and social sciences, in the comprehensive sense of those terms. It has sought to stimulate discussion through holding public meetings, and to foster scientific research through its publications. In both of these chief avenues of its activity it has been singularly successful.

Meetings

The meetings of the Academy have been held at irregular intervals through the winter months in the city of Philadelphia.

At the outset several papers were often read at each meeting, but experience has shown that unless the topics of the papers are related, and furnish the basis of a common discussion, this plan has its disadvantages. More recently each meeting has been devoted to a single topic which has been fruitful in stimulating discussion. In presenting a record of the meetings of the Academy, it has been found practicable to record only the principal speakers and the titles of their papers. Such a list shows the wide variety of topics which fall within the Academy's activity and their importance to the welfare of the community.

The meetings of the Academy have been as follows:

1. March 21, 1890.—Dr. Stuart Wood, "Theories of Wages."  
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Decay of Local and State Governments in the United States."
2. April 29, 1890.—Prof. F. H. Giddings, "Province of Sociology."  
Prof. E. J. James, "A New System of Passenger Fares."
3. November 13, 1890.—Prof. W. P. Holcomb, "Our National Bureau of Education."  
Prof. F. N. Thorpe, "Are the State Governments Decaying?"
4. December 12, 1890.—Prof. C. Stuart Patterson, "The Original Package Decision."
5. January 14, 1891.—Dr. John S. Billings, "Public Health and Municipal Government."
6. February 12, 1891.—Mr. F. W. Holls, "Compulsory Voting."
7. March 12, 1891.—Mr. F. B. Hawley, "Preliminaries to the Discussion of Socialism."
8. April 17, 1891.—Mr. E. R. Johnson, "River and Harbor Bills."
9. May 15, 1891.—Mr. E. P. Oberholtzer, "American Forms of the Referendum."  
Prof. S. N. Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition."
10. November 24, 1891.—Mr. F. P. Prichard, "The Study of Municipal Government."  
Mr. Lincoln L. Eyre, "The Relation of National Party to Municipal Government."  
Mr. William Draper Lewis, "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."

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45. December 17, 1897.—Mr. L. G. Fouse, "The Economic Relation of Life Insurance to Society and the State."  
Mr. Miles Menander Dawson, "The Function of Insurance in Modern Society."
46. January 26, 1898.—Dr. John Graham Brooks, "The Consumers' League."
47. February 25, 1898.—Prof. Joseph French Johnson, "The Proposed Reforms in the Monetary System."
48. April 11, 1898.—Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, "The Practical Value of Sociology."
49. April 12, 1898.—Prof. Leo S. Rowe, "Sociology and Politics."  
Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, "The Unit of Investigation in Sociology."
50. April 12, 1898.—Prof. John L. Stewart, "The Teaching of Social Sciences in High Schools."  
Prof. Edmund J. James, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Commercial High Schools."  
Prof. George C. Wilson, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Colleges."
51. April 13, 1898.—Dr. Fred. H. Wines, "The Relation of Sociology to Philanthropy."  
Miss Mary E. Richmond, "The Training of Philanthropic Workers."

**Publications**

The publications of the Academy have been issued under the title: *ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the Supplements to the *ANNALS*. In the *ANNALS* there have appeared a large number of papers submitted to the Academy, which have been read and discussed at its meetings, as well as many read by title only. Thus, the fruitful and stimulating influence of the Academy upon scientific research has been brought to the knowledge of its members. It would be superfluous to name here all the important contributions which have been made to political and social science through the Academy, but a classification of subjects and authors may be a useful means of recording this feature of the Academy's work:

**BANKING.**—Henry Bacon, D. M. Frederiksen, J. H. Hamilton, M. D. Harter, A. B. Hepburn, E. T. Heyn, J. F. Johnson, J. H. Walker, Horace White, H. W. Williams.

**CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.**—G. Arango Ruiz, E. J. James, J. H. Robinson, R. Saleilles, F. N. Thorpe, W. C. Webster.

**CRIME.**—R. P. Falkner, C. H. Reeve, C. D. Wright.

**ECONOMIC THEORY.**—E. Boehm-Bawerk, M. Block, J. B. Clark, W. Cunningham, D. I. Green, R. P. Falkner, A. T. Hadley, J. A. Hobson, J. H. Hollander, E. R. Johnson, A. Loria, D. M. Lowrey, C. W. Macfarlane, S. M. McVane, L. S. Merriam, S. N. Patten, E. A. Ross, G. Schmoller, S. Sherwood, William Smart, C. Stroeve, W. G. L. Taylor, C. A. Tuttle, L. Walras, F. v. Wieser, Stuart Wood.

**EDUCATION.**—E. W. Bemis, F. W. Blackmar, C. DeGarmo, E. J. James, S. N. Patten, D. G. Ritchie, Isaac Sharpless,

**FINANCE.**—E. L. Bogart, E. R. Buckley.

**INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.**—W. D. Dabney, S. B. Harding, D. Kinley, E. Levasseur.

**INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.**—C. M. Andrews, W. J. Ashley, E. P. Cheyney.

**INTERNATIONAL LAW.**—A. S. Hershey, E. W. Huffcutt, E. L. Lord.

**JURISPRUDENCE.**—F. G. Buckstaff, R. H. Curtis, C. A. Reed, F. J. Stimson, F. M. Taylor, C. G. Tiedeman.

**MONEY.**—F. Fetter, W. Lotz, C. W. Macfarlane, G. Molesworth, Duc de Noailles, E. A. Ross, W. A. Scott, J. Allen Smith, T. Williams, A. B. Woodford.

**MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.**—J. R. Commons, E. L. Godkin, W. D. Lewis, J. W. Pryor, F. P. Prichard, C. Richardson, L. S. Rowe.

**POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.**—C. Bornhak, J. G. Bourinot, G. Bradford, W. J. Branson, E. D. Durand, G. H. Haynes, E. J. James, J. Macy, A. D. Morse, B. Moses, S. N. Patten, E. Porritt, F. Sigel, F. Snow, L. Waurin, J. T. Young.

**POLITICAL REFORMS.**—C. C. Binney, J. R. Commons, F. W. Holls, E. J. James, J. W. Jenks, E. P. Oberholtzer, D. S. Remsen.

**POLITICAL THEORY.**—F. I. Herriott, C. H. Lincoln, I. Loos, D. G. Ritchie, E. V. Robinson, J. H. Robinson, L. S. Rowe.

**SOCIAL QUESTIONS.**—J. G. Brooks, C. H. Cooley, J. W. Davidson, E. T. Devine, H. S. Dudley, W. E. B. DuBois, E. T. Heyn, G. K. Holmes, W. I. Hull, S. M. Lindsay, J. Mavor, W. Milliet, S. L. Oberholtzer, P. de Rousiers, J. H. Senner.

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SOCIOLOGY.—A. F. Bentley, J. L. Brownell, G. A. Fleming,  
F. H. Giddings, H. H. Powers, C. de Lestrade, W. D.  
Lewis, S. M. Lindsay, S. N. Patten, W. H. Schoff, F.  
Sigel, G. Simmel, L. F. Ward.

TAXATION.—T. N. Carver, R. T. Colburn, F. C. Howe, E. R.  
Johnson, E. A. Ross.

TRANSPORTATION.—R. T. Colburn, J. P. Davis, J. A. Fairlie,  
E. R. Johnson, L. M. Keasbey, M. A. Knapp, B. H.  
Meyer, J. W. Miller, H. T. Newcomb, W. E. Weyl.

**Book-reviews** In addition to the publication of papers presented to the Academy, the editors have sought to make the ANNALS helpful to students of political and social science by furnishing as complete a record as possible of publications and events which have a bearing upon the development of those subjects. Particular attention has been given to the notice and review of books, a large part of each issue of the ANNALS being devoted to this object. In this record the varied interests of those who compose the Academy have been kept in view, and through it the cordial co-operation of scholars in all parts of the world has been enlisted in the work of the Academy. As time has progressed, the editorial conduct of the ANNALS has been strengthened, and the co-operation of an increasing number of scholars has been obtained.

**Editorial management** The Academy has been fortunate in preserving the continuity of editorial work, in connection with the ANNALS, and the record of its growth is a continuous one.

The first issue of the ANNALS was made in July, 1890. The Board of Editors consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, and Professors Franklin H. Giddings and Roland P. Falkner as Associate Editors. In the first instance, the ANNALS was issued as a quarterly. The success of the enterprise and the cordial support of scholars which was received, made it possible in the second volume, commencing with the number for July, 1901, to issue the ANNALS every other month. In the same year the list of editors was enlarged by the addition of the name of Professor James H. Robinson. With the close of the second volume of the ANNALS, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who had accepted a position at Columbia University, resigned as Associate Editor.

Up to this time there had been no specific distribution of the editorial work, and the care of the Book Department, in particu-

lar, had been in the charge of Professors Falkner and Robinson. With the third volume, the first issue of which was in July, 1892, the Editorial Board consisted of Professor Edmund J. James, Editor-in-Chief, Professor Roland P. Falkner and James H. Robinson as Associate Editors. No change occurred in the Editorial Board until January, 1896. But, in the meantime, a somewhat different organization of the editorial work secured the co-operation of a number of other scholars. Thus, the Book Department in Volume III. was in charge of Professor Roland P. Falkner and Dr. Emory R. Johnson. With the issue of July, 1893, which began the fourth volume of the ANNALS, Dr. Emory R. Johnson took exclusive charge of the Book Department, and remained in charge of this work until January, 1896. With the third issue of the fifth volume (November, 1894), there was established in each number of the ANNALS a Department of Notes on Municipal Government, under the charge of Dr. L. S. Rowe, and with the issue of January, 1895, a Department of Sociological Notes, under the charge of Dr. S. M. Lindsay. These gentlemen have continued this work until the present time.

The bulk of the ANNALS continued to increase so that the bound volumes became too awkward to handle, and, in accordance with a desire expressed by many readers of the ANNALS, the yearly publications have been, from July, 1895, published as two volumes annually, each volume containing three numbers.\*

With the issue of January, 1896, a series of changes was made in the editorial conduct of the ANNALS. The removal of Professor James to Chicago made it impossible for him to retain the responsibilities of Editor-in-Chief, but it was the general desire that he should continue his editorial connection with the ANNALS. He became Associate Editor, while the editorship was filled by the promotion of Professor Roland P. Falkner. Professor Robinson had, in the meantime, been called to Columbia University, New York, and found it necessary to give up his work in the ANNALS. His place as Associate Editor was filled

\*The following statement shows in figures the growth of the publishing activity of the Academy:

1890-91	ANNALS,	754 pp.	Supplements,	363 pp.
1891-92	"	896 pp.		
1892-93	"	852 pp.	"	148 pp.
1893-94	"	1016 pp.	"	314 pp.
1894-95	"	1649 pp.	"	178 pp.
1895-96	"	1146 pp.	"	191 pp.
1896-97	"	1124 pp.	"	84 pp.
1897-98	"	978 pp.	"	94 pp.

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by the appointment of Professor Emory R. Johnson, who had long been connected with the Book Department of the ANNALS. This place being thus rendered vacant, it was filled by the appointment of Professor Henry R. Seager, who has had charge of the Book Department since January, 1896. No further change in the personnel of the editorial corps has taken place since January, 1896.

### Monographs and supple- ments

A distinctive feature of the work of the Academy has been the promotion of scientific research through the publication of longer monographs and articles. The editors have considered solely the scientific value of the material which has been presented to them, and have not hesitated to publish in the ANNALS itself articles whose length considerably exceeds that of the customary contribution to scientific periodicals. In addition to this there have been published from time to time, supplements devoted to various topics connected with the work of the Academy. An inspection of the list which has been published shows important contributions to statistics, economic history, transportation, constitutional law, and sociology. To the Academy is due the credit of having first published in the English language a systematic work upon the subject of statistics, and of having made accessible to students of political science the constitutional laws of European nations. Not less important have been the other contributions which have been published in this form. A list of such publications up to the present time, is as follows:

- 1891.—"Public Health and Municipal Government," by Dr. John S. Billings. Pp. 23.
- 1891.—"History, Theory and Technique of Statistics," by Prof. August Meitzen; translated by Prof. Roland P. Falkner. Pp. 243.
- 1893.—"Constitution of the United States of Colombia," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. Bernard Moses. Pp. 70.
- 1893.—"Constitutional and Organic Laws of France," translated with an Historical Introduction by Prof. C. F. A. Currier. Pp. 78.
- 1893.—"Inland Waterways: Their Relation to Transportation," by Prof. Emory R. Johnson. Pp. 164.
- 1894.—"History of Political Economy," by Prof. Gustav Cohn; translated by Dr. Joseph Adna Hill. Pp. 142.
- 1894.—"The Theory of Sociology," by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. Pp. 80.

- 1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. James Harvey Robinson. Pp. 54.
- 1894.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. M. Lindsay and Prof. L. S. Rowe. Pp. 44.
- 1896.—"The Theory of Social Forces," by Prof. Simon N. Patten. Pp. 151.
- 1896.—"Constitution of the Kingdom of Belgium," translated and supplied with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. John M. Vincent and Ada S. Vincent. Pp. 40.

From time to time Bulletins have been sent out from the ~~Bulletins~~ office of the Academy, containing notices of meetings, information concerning speakers and publications. In October, 1897, it was decided to make these Bulletins of more permanent value and to issue them at irregular intervals in uniform size and style with the Academy's other publications. The first one in the new series thus inaugurated appeared November 2, and five Bulletins, aggregating sixty-four pages, were issued up to May 1. These are edited by the First Vice-President and contain notices of meetings, resumé of the discussion at meetings, answers to correspondents, especially those furnishing bibliographies on various topics, and other items of more or less permanent value for reference. It is hoped that members will, in the future, preserve the Bulletins for binding together with the ANNALS as part of the regular publications of the Academy. The distinctive purpose aimed at in the Bulletins as at present constituted is stated in the following paragraph, which appeared in the first number of the new series:

"The object of this new series of Bulletins, which begins with the present number, is to furnish members of the Academy with a channel of communication between the membership body and its officers, and between individual members. It is hoped that all members will make use of this for the purpose of securing more intimate relations between those residing at a distance, who may not be able to attend the meetings of the Academy, and those who come more frequently into contact with each other. Communications of a more personal nature than it is possible to publish in the ANNALS will be welcomed in these Bulletins. Information concerning scientific work upon which members of the Academy may be engaged will be gladly received, especially announcements of investigations of any topic upon

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which members may desire to have the opinion or co-operation of other members. The officers of the Academy will welcome requests for literature on any topic or advice for the guidance of individual members or groups of members, in their private reading and study; also, criticisms of any of the Academy's publications, and suggestions looking to the improvement of the Academy's methods and to the enlargement of its usefulness."

In presenting this brief record of the work of the Academy, we are conscious that the work has been favored by the conservative policy which has retained experienced officers in their positions. Professor Edmund J. James was elected President of the Academy at its first meeting and continues to occupy that post.

Upon the removal of Professor James to Chicago, it was found necessary, however, inasmuch as Philadelphia is designated as the headquarters of the Academy by the charter, to invest the First Vice-President with many of the duties of Acting President. Professor Falkner performed these duties with great efficiency and fidelity, and at considerable personal sacrifice, during the period from February, 1896, to July 1, 1897, when, at his request, owing to the time and labor required of him as Editor of the ANNALS, he was relieved of the work of First Vice-President, and Professor Lindsay was chosen to fill the place.

We may conclude our record with a summary statement of the officers of the Academy which shows a long continued service on the part of Professor F. H. Giddings as Second Vice-President, Mr. Stuart Wood as Treasurer, and Professor John L. Stewart as Librarian.

President, Edmund J. James, 1890-

First Vice-President, Henry C. Lea, 1890-95.

Roland P. Falkner, 1896-97.

Samuel McCune Lindsay, 1897-

Second Vice-President, F. H. Giddings, 1890-

Third Vice-President, W. P. Holcomb, 1890-94.

Woodrow Wilson, 1895-

Corresponding Secretary, Roland P. Faulkner, 1890-95.

Henry R. Seager, 1896-

Recording Secretary, George Henderson, 1890-92.

Clinton R. Woodruff, 1893-

General Secretary, Clinton R. Woodruff, 1890-92.

John Quincy Adams, 1894-

Treasurer, Stuart Wood, 1890-

Librarian, John L. Stewart, 1890-

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. (1897.)

During the year ending December 31, 1897, the Academy held its first general meeting, which consisted of four scientific sessions. The Academy also held four other scientific sessions. The first of these was the thirty-eighth session of the Academy and was held on February 25. Dr. Edward T. Devine, of New York City, read a paper on "The Shiftless and Floating City Population."

The thirty-ninth session of the Academy was held on March 26, and the paper of the evening was read by Professor Sydney Sherwood, of Johns Hopkins University, his subject being "The Philosophic Basis of Economics."

The first annual meeting of the Academy was held on April 21 and 22. At the opening meeting, on the evening of April 21, Professor Edmund J. James, President of the Academy, delivered the annual address, his subject was "The Training for Citizenship. At the session on the morning of the 22, papers were read by Mr. George E. Bartol, Professor Emory R. Johnson and Hon. Robert Adams, Jr. In the afternoon papers were read by United States Commissioner of Immigration, Joseph H. Senner, Professor Roland P. Falkner and S. G. Fisher, Esq. The subject was "The Restriction of Immigration." In the evening Hon. James H. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, delivered an address upon "The National Banking System." This was the last session of the General Meeting.

The forty-fourth scientific session of the Academy was held on November 19, 1897. About five hundred persons were present who listened to a paper by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlanta University on "The Study of the Negro Problem." The meeting was presided over by Charles C. Harrison, LL. D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. DuBois' paper was discussed by Professor John B. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. D. H. Williams, of Washington, Rev. H. L. Phillips and Rev. Dr. Charles Wood, of Philadelphia.

The forty-fifth session of the Academy was held on December 17. The principal paper was read by Mr. L. G. Fouse on "The Economic Relation of Life Insurance to Society and State. This subject was also discussed by Mr. Miles M. Dawson, of New York City; Dr. William D. Whiting, of New York City; Mr. G. D. Fryer, of Philadelphia, and Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Reception  
committee

In September, 1897, a local Reception Committee of ladies was organized by and under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison. This committee rendered a great service throughout the winter in taking charge of the social features of the Academy's meetings held in Philadelphia.

During the year the Academy issued six numbers of the ANNALS and one supplement, the latter being the hand-book. The numbers constitute the ninth and tenth volumes of its proceedings. These volumes consist of 586 and 512 pages respectively.

The membership of the Academy on May 1, 1897 (the date of the publication of the hand-book), was 1735. There were in addition 167 subscribers to the ANNALS, making a total of members and subscribers of 1902.

In contemplation of a new issue of the hand-book of the Academy the question was raised whether the printed Constitution and By-Laws were in exact conformity with the Charter of Incorporation. The matter has been referred to a sub-committee with instructions to prepare a general revision of the Constitution and By-Laws and to report the same to the Council for action.

Respectfully submitted,

ROLAND P. FALKNER,  
Chairman.

## SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENSE ACCOUNT FOR 1897.

### INCOME.

Balance on hand January 1, 1897.....	\$1,462 52	Treasurer's report
Annual Membership Fees.....	7,193 98	
Life Membership Fees.....	200 00	
Sales of Publications.....	1,600 50	
Special Contributions.....	338 00	
Interest and Income from Investments.....	368 48	
	<hr/>	
	\$11,163 48	

### EXPENSES.

Printing (ANNALS, Supplement, Special Edi- tions, Bulletins, etc.).....	\$5,544 66
Salaries (Manager, Stenographer and Clerks)	2,155 97
Office Expenses (Postage on ANNALS and Publications, Stationery, etc.).....	1,354 12
Meetings (Rent of Hall and Reception Ex- penses).....	438 65
Balance (of which \$1,573.30 has been tem- porarily invested in Philadelphia City Bonds).....	1,670 03
	<hr/>
	\$11,163 43

We hereby certify that the above summary of Income and  
Expense account for 1897 has been audited by us and is correct.

LYBRAND, ROSS BROS. & MONTGOMERY,  
Public Accounts and Auditors.

Philadelphia, May 21, 1898.

**CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION**  
**OF**  
**The American Academy of Political and Social Science.**

**BE IT KNOWN**, That the subscribers, having associated themselves together for the purpose of promoting the progress of the political and social sciences, and being desirous of becoming incorporated agreeably to the provisions of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved the twenty-ninth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and its supplements, do hereby declare, set forth and certify that the following are the purposes, objects, articles and conditions of their said Association, for and upon which they desire to be incorporated:

**I. The name of the Corporation shall be THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

**II. The purpose for which the Corporation is formed is the promotion of the progress of the political and social sciences.**

**III. The place where the business of said Corporation is to be transacted is the city of Philadelphia.**

**IV. The Corporation is to exist perpetually.**

**V. The names and residences of the subscribers are as follows:**

**Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.**

**Stuart Wood, 1820 Locust St., Philadelphia.**

**Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.**

**Joseph G. Rosengarten, 1532 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.**

**Simon Nelson Patten, 221 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia.**

**Edmund Janes James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.**

VI. The Corporation is to be managed by a Board of Directors, consisting of nine members, and the names and residences of those chosen Directors for the first year are:

Edmund James James, 3722 Locust St., Philadelphia.  
 Franklin H. Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.  
 Roland Post Falkner, 36 Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia.  
 George Henderson, 1420 Master St., Philadelphia.  
 Henry Charles Lea, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia.  
 William Penn Holcomb, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.  
 Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 822 Windsor Square, Phila.  
 Stuart Wood, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia.  
 John Lammey Stewart, 1826 Dickinson St., Philadelphia.

VII. The clear yearly value of the property to be held by the Corporation will not exceed the sum of thirty thousand dollars.

Witness our hands and seals this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one (1891).

STUART WOOD,  
 HENRY C. LEA,  
 ROLAND POST FALKNER,  
 JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN,  
 SIMON N. PATTEN,  
 EDMUND J. JAMES.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, }  
 County of Philadelphia. } ss.

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds of the County of Philadelphia, personally appeared Roland Post Falkner, Simon N. Patten and Edmund J. James, three of the subscribers of the above and foregoing Certificate of Incorporation of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and in due form of law acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Witness my hand and official seal this fourteenth day of February, Anno Domini 1891.

JOS. K. FLETCHER,  
 Deputy Recorder.

DECREE.

In the Court of Common Pleas No. 3 of Philadelphia County, of March Term, 1891. No. 814.

And now, this fourth day of April, A. D. 1891, the above Certificate of Incorporation having been presented to me, a Law

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Judge of said County, accompanied by due proof of publication of the notice of this application as required by the Act of Assembly and rule of this Court in such case made and provided, I certify that I have examined and perused the said writing, and have found the same to be in proper form and within the purposes named in the first class specified in Section Second of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved April 29, 1874, and the supplements thereto, and the same appearing to be lawful and not injurious to the community, I do hereby, on motion of C. Stuart Patterson on behalf of petitioners, order and direct that the said Certificate of Incorporation or charter of **THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE** aforesaid be, and the same is hereby approved, and that upon the recording of the same and of this order the subscribers thereto and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of "**THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE**," for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

**HENRY REED.**

[SEAL]

Recorded in the office for recording deeds in and for the County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book 17, page 123.

Witness my hand and seal of office this fourth day of April, Anno Domini 1891.

**THOMAS GREEN,**  
Recorder of Deeds.

# **The American Academy of Political and Social Science.**

## **CONSTITUTION.**

### **ART. I.**

#### *Name.*

**This Association shall be known as The American Academy of Political and Social Science.**

### **ART. II.**

#### *Object.*

**The object of the Academy is the promotion of the political and social sciences in the comprehensive sense of those terms.**

**With no intention of excluding other suitable means, the following methods may be enumerated as of special importance in furthering the ends of the Society:**

**1. Accumulation of a library of works pertaining to the subjects cultivated by the Academy, and, in general, the provision of facilities for research.**

**2. Encouragement of investigation by the offering of prizes for specified contributions to science, and by extending pecuniary aid in suitable cases to students and investigators.**

**3. Publication of valuable papers and reports presented to the Academy either by members or others.**

**4. Regular meetings for the presentation and discussion of papers and other contributions to political and social science.**

**5. Dissemination of political and economic knowledge throughout the community by the establishment of public lecture courses in political and social science, and by such other means as may from time to time seem expedient.**

### **ART. III.**

**The Academy shall consist of a Council and members, the former to be chosen from the latter.**

### **ART. IV.**

**Any person may become a member of the Academy who, having been proposed by a member, shall be approved by the Council.**

**The fees of the members shall be fixed by the Council.**

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The Council may, by a majority vote of all members, create new forms of membership at discretion.

Members shall be entitled to receive the regular reports of the proceedings of the Academy; and to such other privileges as the Constitution and By-Laws of the Academy may confer upon them.

ART. V.

*The Council.*

The Council shall consist of at least ten members, chosen in the first instance by the Academy. It shall be authorized to enlarge its number at pleasure, and to fill all vacancies: provided that no person shall be chosen a Councillor who is not known to be actively interested in the promotion of some phase of political or social science, either in a theoretical or practical way: and provided further, that at least one-fifth of the Council shall be renewed each year, retiring members being re-eligible indefinitely.

To the Council shall be committed the control and management of the business and interests of the Academy, subject only to the restrictions of this Constitution. It shall choose its own officers and committees, determining their number and functions, such officers and committees being *ex-officio* the officers and committees of the Academy.

The Council shall make each year a report of its proceedings to the Academy, and may request the co-operation of members and others in the work of the Academy.

The Council shall be authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations for the conduct of the Academy, not in conflict with this instrument.

Any member or Councillor may be struck from the list if more than three months in arrear for the annual fee or other fees levied by the Academy: provided that at least two notices shall have been sent that such fee or fees are due.

Any Councillor may be expelled from the Academy by a majority vote of all members of the Council: provided that printed notice be given to each member at least one month beforehand of intention to make such motion.

ART. VI.

*Amendments.*

Amendments to this Constitution may be made when proposed by a majority of all the Councillors and approved by a majority

of all the members present at any regular meeting: provided that the number present shall be at least one-tenth of all the members: and provided further that a notice of such proposed amendment shall have been given at the preceding regular meeting, and a printed copy sent to each member at least one month before such voting.

**BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

1. The officers of the Council shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, three Secretaries—entitled respectively Recording, Corresponding and General—a Treasurer and a Librarian.

2. They shall be chosen for one year, and hold office until their successors are duly qualified.

3. Their duties shall be such as are usually assigned to such officers, subject to qualification and definition by the Council.

4. The officers of the Council, together with such members as may be chosen by the Council for one year, shall constitute an Executive Committee, with such powers as may be entrusted to it by the Council.

5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury except on order of the Executive Committee or Council, countersigned by the Recording Secretary, who shall keep a list of such orders, their date, amounts and payees.

6. Changes may be made in these By-Laws at any regular meeting of the Council by a majority of those present.

7. Any one may become a life member by the payment of \$100 at one time; and a patron by the payment of \$500 at one time; and both life members and patrons shall be exempt from the payment of annual fees, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of members.

8. Seven members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at any regular meeting of the Council.

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# THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES: Political and Commercial.

Addresses and Discussion at the Annual Meeting of the  
American Academy of Political and Social  
Science, April 7-8, 1899.

PHILADELPHIA:  
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

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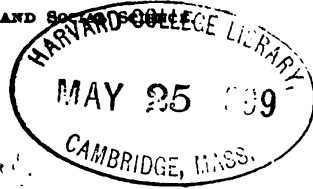
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# **The Government of Dependencies.**



**Addresses and Discussions.**



## THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY, *Professor of International Law,  
Yale University.*

In every state with colonies, its government of them must depend upon two factors: (1) the prevailing theory of the dependent relation; (2) the constitutional limitations, if any, under which it lives. There are two theories to define the relationship between a state and its dependencies. One considers them property from which an income is to be drawn; the other considers them a kind of trust, to be administered for the benefit of their inhabitants.

A good example of the first is the Dutch rule in Java. The Javanese number approximately twenty-five millions. They are governed by two-fifths of one per cent of their number of Europeans. The island is considered a sort of huge farm by the government of the Netherlands. The method of administration, called the "culture system," is one of forced labor. Introduced in 1830, under the influence of a more enlightened public sentiment it is now disappearing. At times it has paid a surplus as high as ten million dollars into the Dutch treasury: but this has given place to a deficit. Under it, the Dutch government discouraged European immigration, education and missionary labor. There was no autonomy. Generally speaking there was no private property. And the result was that the natives deteriorated in artistic, industrial and scientific processes.

If we look for examples of the other, the trust theory, we shall find a very general opinion that the British system is best worth copying. During the second quarter of the present century, Great Britain finally gave her various dependencies self-government, unrestricted trade and reform

administrations, wherever practicable. In those climates where the white man can work and multiply, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand for instance, self-governing colonies have been developed, with large liberty of action, duties to protect domestic manufactures against British competition having even been permitted. In the minor colonies of the temperate zone, and in the tropics, where dependencies have been retained in the hands of the crown, the principle of self-sacrifice has still prevailed, and the results have justified it. For we find, on the whole, prosperity, contentment and loyalty. A blind attachment to the opposite theory has cost Spain her colonies, and makes those of France, in the opinion of enlightened Frenchmen like M. Hanotaux and M. Leroy-Beaulieu, a failure. Now under the system of Great Britain, she spends and her colonies do not contribute; she protects and they enjoy. A judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. Cunningham, wrote in 1882, "we have definitely abandoned the idea that the political connection of England and India can be a source of direct gain to any public body or to the English nation."

Where, then, does the profit of a state in the matter of dependencies come in? It comes from the enlarged opportunity for the energies of its surplus youth, and in that stimulated trade which follows the flag. This is peculiarly true in the case of Great Britain. Her narrow limits at home offer but restricted opportunity for business and agricultural activities; while, on the other hand, her long supremacy in manufactures of certain kinds and her control of the carrying trade, enable her to take peculiar advantage of the traffic with her dependencies, by which example other nations like Germany have been tempted, to their hurt.

When we are forced by circumstances to study a form of government for our own dependencies, we turn naturally, therefore, to those British territories which most resemble

them, and seek to learn the secret of their success or the warning in their failure.

My subject in terms is general, relating to the government of all dependencies. I shall take the liberty of making it more specific, the government of our own. These are of two classes, those which are placed under our sovereignty and those which are placed under our protection. In the latter class is Cuba. By treaty Spain has relinquished her sovereignty in Cuba. She does not cede it to us; she simply lets it go, reciting the fact that the island is "to be occupied" by the United States. The result of this must be that the sovereignty remains in abeyance with reversion to the Cubans themselves. Spain recognizes our assumption of responsibility for Cuba's actions, until we are satisfied of its "pacification." To secure this was our avowed object in waging war; everything else which has been won, was an accident. To correspond to this responsibility and to enable us to make it good, we must have a certain power. This in Cuba's foreign relations is exclusive; in her domestic concerns it must be so shared between the Cubans and ourselves as to give them that degree of autonomy which will fit them for eventual independence (either in our Union or separately), while retaining control enough to be correlative with our liabilities. Our first step very properly consists in military occupation, using our soldiers as a constabulary. This means order and better sanitation and protection to local industries and the revival throughout the length and breadth of the island, of all the arts of peace. To accomplish the desired end, this must be accompanied by the gradual resumption of civil government in all the municipalities, and by the formation of an island legislature to control internal affairs, subject to the veto of the United States representative.

All franchises should be in the hands of the native local authorities; the execution of the laws should be entrusted to native elected officers; the courts to judge causes under

the local law should be Cuban also. We protect Cuba from outside aggression, and by veto from her own inexperience and folly, and prevent acts of hostility to ourselves. But the revenues of the island, after paying for the maintenance of our soldiers so long as they are necessary and of our few necessary officials, must be spent for her own benefit. This is a protectorate. Whether the issue of the protectorate is independence, or, as many believe, annexation, the process of education, of pacification, is the same. It consists, in a word, in granting as much control over internal affairs as the inhabitants are able to bear. And we must so regulate their duties and revenue laws and commercial rights, as to give them a prosperous life, even at our own cost, that is, if we wish the experiment to turn out well. Thus we should open the door to foreign trade on as favorable terms as to our own. Instead of regarding the traffic between Cuba and the states as coasting trade, we should open it to foreign ships. And between Spaniards and Cubans, we should not discriminate.

All this we can properly and lawfully do, because we have not assumed the Cuban's sovereignty; so far as they are concerned we are not tied down by our constitution. Here we see the difference between protected and ceded territory. In the cases of Porto Rico and the Philippines, we are under constitutional limitations. Here there is no presumption of future independence. They are our spoils of war, to govern as Spain did, or to govern as Great Britain would, so far as our constitution allows. All depends upon the kind of results we desire. Some government we must provide, nor is it clear that this task will be easily shifted to other shoulders. While the ratification of the peace treaty was still an open question, it was urged that this step committed the United States to nothing; that in the Philippines at least, cession would give place in time to a protectorate or a sale or the establishment of a republic. I do not think we should shirk the question of a permanent government for them,

under any such illusion. Anything other than permanent possession, however desirable, will be most difficult. My reasons for this view are, first, that future surrender is sure to be construed as a confession of failure, and would hurt the national pride. We need not have assumed the burden, but having done so, it must be patiently and loyally borne. Then, too, it will be much less easy to relinquish sovereignty than it was to refuse it. It implies the favorable conjunction of three bodies, two legislative, one executive, against in the latter case one-third of the Senate. And lastly, the whole spirit and tendency of the European policy which we are following, forbids such surrender. It strengthens the loose tie, rather than loosens the strong one. France in Madagascar, converting a protectorate into a colony, and England in Egypt, only awaiting the right moment to make her own that territory which she has repeatedly promised to evacuate, are examples of this.

To return from this digression.

Between Porto Rico and the Philippines, both now equally under the sovereignty of the United States, there is a gulf fixed, climatic, social, racial, as well as geographical. In Porto Rico we find a settled society largely of European stock; law-abiding, fairly prosperous, in a healthful climate where our race can live and work, and whither it is likely to migrate until the opportunities are filled. Here are materials for a state after territorial apprenticeship. Or as an unorganized territory, we may watch it working out its ideas of self-government. For, when Congress sees fit to legislate, the government of Porto Rico should be laid as largely as possible upon the shoulders of its own people. Military rule should not be necessary, and a carpet-bag system would produce results which we can pretty definitely forecast. Native officials, a native legislature, the existing laws and municipal regulations should be the starting point. Upon the present system should gradually be engrafted those changes which reason and experience, theirs and ours,

may suggest, and which Spain has heretofore prevented. There will be difficulties, there may be failure, but both are a means of education. And education in the art of self-government, is what we aim at giving, unless our policy and our professions are alike disregarded.

The case of the Philippines stands on a far different footing. Cuba and Porto Rico are near our shores; the Philippines are far away. The first have long been within our sphere of influence; possession of the second, suddenly makes us an Asiatic power, and thrusts us without warning into the political and commercial melting pot of the Orient. The first are in the main civilized; the second on the whole savage. In the first, white men can live and work; in the second they can only make others work. The capacity for self-government may exist in the one, but not so clearly in the other. We may govern the one by reason; for the other we shall need force. Porto Rico will pay its own way. The Philippines are certain to be a heavy burden. These are some of the reasons which made the cession of the Philippines a vulnerable point in the peace treaty. That treaty is now ratified, and we must make the best of it.

I say nothing about the administration of Hawaii, for that is being laid down by Congress. I assume moreover that the Aguinaldo insurrection will be soon put down and the island of Luzon pacified. It is the next step, the government after order is restored, which is the crux of the whole problem.

And here our minds naturally turn to India. The British rule in India is based upon conquest and maintained by force. By war the limits of dominion are constantly being extended. To justify the mastery of many millions of people by a handful of alien conquerors, has required generations of honest administration, giving continuous proof of altruistic effort. The governing class has wisely pursued a policy of indifferentism in the matter of religion, neither discriminating between beliefs already embraced, nor seeking

to propagate its own. So far as practicable it has sought to administer elementary justice through native officials, whose ability is tested by competitive examination. The covenanted civil service is open to British youth by competition, with tenure of office during good behavior, promotion in reserve and a handsome retiring pension in the background. It is a picked class, drawn from the flower of the race, with public school training behind it, and animated by a strong preference for the administrative, not the commercial career. It makes a study, a science, of the business of governing dependent races, and the result is a commendable *esprit de corps*. All of this is the consequence of historical development, nor has this ceased. Thus at present the benevolent despotism of the last generation seems to be giving place to a stricter adherence to legal forms. Complaint is made that promotion goes too much by seniority, taking too little account of proved capacity. The fall in the silver rupee, in which the covenanted receive pay, has made the service less desirable. Some of the commissionerships are too large and unwieldy for one man and should be divided. These are criticisms, but as things are, the competition is still keen and the class secured good.

At the head of the government stands the Secretary of State for India, guided by a Council and sitting in London. Next comes the Governor-General, commonly but not officially known as Viceroy, with an Executive Council made up of heads of departments, the Viceroy taking that of foreign affairs. This Council is enlarged into a legislative council by the addition of the Governor of that province in which it is held, of official delegates from Madras and Bombay, and of certain non-official representatives of European and of native communities. Then come the governors of the two presidencies, also with councils; the lieutenant-governors of Bengal, the Punjab and the North-western Provinces; the chief commissioners of other provinces, together forming a class subordinate to the Viceroy.

Under these are the 238 districts, grouped into commissionerships, their heads being called collector magistrates or deputy-commissioners. These are both fiscal and judicial officers, but concern themselves also with everything under the sun, from police to agriculture, from road-making to the social life of the people. For they are "the representatives of a paternal, not a constitutional government."\*

The districts containing an average of over 800,000 people, are in turn subdivided, this being the final unit of administration. The laws enforced are British acts, Indian Council enactments, native laws and native customs. The judicial jurisdiction corresponds largely to the magisterial and fiscal, and one of the curious features is the frequent union of two out of the three characters in the same person. A soldier also is sometimes made a district officer.

Each province has its own judicial system, with a chain of authorities ending in the High Court, and to this law, so interpreted, all alike are subject. The characteristics of the whole system appear to be, paternalism, comprehensiveness, justice and order. The great majority of the minor civil offices are filled by natives; the higher judges are mostly European. Indeed the suggestion to place non-official Europeans under the jurisdiction of any natives created a tempest of opposition.

The results of British administration in India have been splendid. It has kept the peace, preserved order, built roads, railroads and irrigation works, brought justice to the humblest, lessened famine and pestilence, introduced state education, sanitation and dispensaries, freed trade from many burdens, simplified taxation, and has begun to introduce local self-government. A single detail further is pertinent. The imperial revenue is drawn chiefly from salt and opium monopolies and from the land tax; its expenditure, excluding capital or construction account, is about equal to its income.

\* *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. India, p. 769, ninth ed.

Now very much of this system, particularly its basic ideas, will repay our study in considering the Philippines. We must practice religious toleration toward Christian and Mohammedan alike, even to the limit of indifferentism, yet not protecting abuses. We must keep a firm hand on the so-called civilized natives, who constitute one-half of the population, and yet educate them to some measure of local administration which they can in time undertake themselves. We must better communications and build public works. We must raise revenue skillfully and spend it more and more on the country. We must get work out of an indolent race, without slavery or its equivalent in contract labor, probably by introducing it to new wants. Life is necessarily indolent, where existence is so ridiculously easy. We must guide the savage half with the strength which he will respect and the courage which he will admire. Justice and good faith are essential in dealing with both classes: justice, inexpensive, swift and incorruptible, administered by a permanent trained service with higher ideals than personal advantage. All of this is suggested by the British rule in India; it is essential to success; how can it be made practicable? Here we come in sight of our constitutional limitations, for it is the merest folly to trace out an ideal course and laugh away the obstacles.

Let us assume that the United States may acquire territory, when and how it chooses. Let us grant that there is no obligation, either now or in the remote future, to form this territory into states. Nevertheless the moment Congress begins to legislate for the Philippines and establishes there civil government, whether on the lines above indicated or on any others, that moment the constitutional guarantees begin to work. This was the case in the unorganized territory of Alaska. In accordance with these guarantees, though a legislative assembly and a delegate to Congress are prohibited, the rights of habeas corpus and of a jury trial are recognized, by statute.\*

\* 23 U. S. Stats. pp. 24-27.

These personal guarantees are contained in the body of the constitution and its amendments. They relate in general to the security of life, liberty and property. They include specifically religious freedom; free speech and a free press; the right of assembling and of petition; the right to bear arms; security from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from the quartering of troops; the necessity of presentment by a grand jury on a capital charge; the right of compulsory process to secure witnesses; the aid of counsel when accused; above all the right of trial by jury.

It is to be noted that some of these provisions are by nature or in terms applicable to all the territory of the United States, while others, being civil rather than political rights, may be capable of limitation to the citizens of the states and their grantees under title of the people of the United States. This distinction is by no means certain: it is merely a possible loophole of escape, if the supreme court should be urged to deny the Philippines certain inconvenient rights, that to bear arms, for instance.

But in order to stand on the safest possible ground let me place together here the guarantees concerning whose extension to all United States territory there can be little question.

First comes the right of trial by jury.

This is contained in the final clause of Section 2, Article III, as follows: "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed." This language is pretty clear, but by judicial construction it has been made still clearer.\* In an illuminating and most judicial article upon the constitutional questions incident to the acquisition and government of

\* *Callan v. Wilson*, 127 U. S., 540, 550; *Thompson v. Utah*, 170 U. S., 343, 346. See also *A. M. Publ. Co. v. Fisher*, 166 U. S., 464, 466.

island territory by the United States (Harv. Law Rev., XII, No. 6), Judge Baldwin examines the origin of this jury trial provision, its phrasing, and its construction by the supreme court. He expresses the belief that unless the views of that court should be overruled, "they must lead to the conclusion that no conviction for crime could be had in any of our new possessions, after the establishment there of an orderly civil government, except upon a jury trial."

On the same plane with the right of trial by jury stand those guarantees, contained in the amendments to the constitution, which are neither inserted specifically for the benefit of the "people" of the United States, nor relate to rights merely political. Those most germane to our topic are here enumerated:

Slavery is forbidden in the United States "or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Religious liberty is provided.

Indictment by a grand jury is necessary to a trial for an infamous crime.

No man can be compelled to give testimony against himself.

No person can be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

No cruel or unusual punishment may be inflicted.

If now these constitutional rights relating to persons and property extend to all the territories of the United States, they must exist in the Philippines, and must be taken account of in the question of governing the Philippines. The inhabitants of these islands are thought to number from eight to ten millions, of eighty distinct tribes which are classified by Professor Worcester as Negritos (the descendants of the aborigines), Mohammedan Malays, Pagan Malays, and civilized Malays, the latter being one-half of the whole. These domesticated Malays are described as fairly intelligent, but dishonest, untruthful, and so indolent that crops spoil for lack of laborers.

Foreman, who had much fuller information than Worcester, and is the authority upon whom Worcester largely relies, gives a curious list of their virtues and vices, and confesses that he cannot understand their character. It is a succession of surprises, he says. They are hospitable, cleanly, sober and patient; they are incapable of gratitude, profligate, undependable, improvident, cruel, impertinent, superstitious, treacherous. The few in the cities imitate European usages; the many regard the European as a demoniacal being, or at least an enemy. All are liars, even in the confessional. "The native is so contumacious to all bidding," writes Foreman, "so averse to social order, that he can only be ruled by coercion, by the demonstration of force."

There is reason for this judgment. Of sixty-six provinces, nineteen under Spanish rule had a civil governor, forty-seven a military one; yet the civil governor was the head of carbineers and police, of the departments of education, prisons, health, works, forests, mines, agriculture, mails, telegraph; in charge of everything but the public funds, so that he could not have fallen far behind his military colleague as a reservoir of force.

Such are the domesticated half. The savage half range between docility and ferocity, between innocency and piracy, many tribes having never yielded to the Spaniard.

Now if we place such people as these in possession of such constitutional rights as those mentioned, we have a *reductio ad absurdum*. How can we establish over them a civil government which would be anything but a mockery, if we must concede indictment by grand jury for *some* crimes and trial by jury for *all*? It would mean the breakdown of any criminal system to which it was applied and unchecked crime means administrative failure. And in addition, unless by construction the other guarantees could be put out of reach, like edged tools rescued from children's hands, we might have to concede the right to bear arms to persons

intending assassination ; a free press, although teaching open sedition ; the right of assembling when it endangered our sovereignty.\*

As Judge Baldwin well says, to give half-civilized peoples the benefit of immunities framed by a civilized people for itself " would be a serious obstacle to the maintenance there of an efficient government. Every people under a written constitution must experience difficulties of administration that are unknown to nations like Great Britain which are unfettered by legal restraints imposed by former generations. It is part of the price that it pays for liberty, that new conditions must be dealt with in fundamentals, under old laws."

Nevertheless we need not despair of our ability to frame a suitable government for the Philippines, even if, as I believe, a civil government, under our constitution, is and must be for the indefinite future, inadmissible. We have still the military solution in reserve, and to that we have recourse by process of exclusion.

Govern we must. Civil government would mean chaos, if the personal guarantees go with it. No government can succeed there which is not based upon force. We need to place a benevolent despot in every district in the Archipelago. Therefore the military government is the only one possible. And this is dependent upon the inaction of Congress. Its constitutional basis lies in the fact that the United States as sovereign is responsible for the maintenance of justice and order, for the defence of its territory, for the protection of its subjects' rights. This duty is in the hands of Congress as part of its general rights, and also under the " needful rules and regulations" clause, regarding territory. Pending action by Congress, this duty devolves upon the President, the Executive

\* In *Mormon Ch. v. U. S.* (136 U. S. 44) Mr. Justice Bradley said for the Court, "Doubtless Congress in legislating for the territories would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights, which are formulated in the Constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions."

head of the nation and Commander-in-Chief of both army and navy. The law applicable would not be martial law, for that implies war, or insurgency; it would not be military law except as to the discipline of the army itself; it would be simply the will of the President, but expressed so far as practicable in terms of the law already existing, and executed by the President's representatives, the officers of the United States army. This despotic form of administration is not an ideal method; its justification is that no other is practicable.

In using the army officers for administrative work, we should be doing nothing new. The first act relating to Louisiana, in 1803, empowered the President to appoint all civil, military and judicial officers of the new territory, define their duties and support them with the army and navy. "It was in effect the establishment of a military despotism over Louisiana, and may suffice as an example of the extent to which the sovereign power of the United States over territories might go, if a wiser policy were not the rule," writes Alexander Johnston. The untaxed Indians, who are expressly excluded from the right of representation, have at times been cared for by our army officers acting as agents, and with a success in agreeable contrast to that of the average Indian agent.

There are two qualities among many, which the history of the British in India emphasizes as peculiarly desirable in those persons who have to govern dependent peoples. One is physical strength and courage; the other a high sense of honor. Those splendid men who saved India in the Mutiny, men both in the civil and military service, the two Lawrences, Edwards, Neville Chamberlain, Roberts, John Nicholson and many like them, may well serve as examples of the value of these qualities. Their courage and vigor won the native admiration; their honorable dealing won confidence and love. The relationship between governor and governed is a fiduciary one, like that between guardian and

ward. Its basis must be the sense of honor. Now is it not more likely that we shall find the union of these two qualities in our army officers of West Point training, than amongst any other class of citizens available for such work? They are taught both to obey and to command. They are picked men, physically. Honor is the basis of the army organization, for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman costs a man his commission. Just so far as the influence of politics and of politicians can be excluded, the regular army is to be trusted. We must use it to obtain order; I believe that we can and must use it also to maintain order and administer justice.

There will be difficulties in the way. One will be the status of foreigners in the Philippines. We cannot grant them extraterritorial privileges, for that would be inconsistent with our dignity; nor can we deny them civil rights, particularly when specified by treaty with their country; our own citizens would be likewise in a false position. Some makeshift would be required, like a plaster to a sore spot, for instance the application of the laws of Oregon and a Federal Court to others than natives. Another difficulty may arise from the religious orders. These friars serve as parish priests; they are large holders of property; this property is secured to them under the terms of the Spanish treaty, preventing sequestration; the educational system, such as it is, is in their hands. In Spanish times the church constantly intrigued against any governor who preferred the interests of the state to its own, and this same spirit, perhaps stirring up native opposition, we must expect to encounter.

Then there is the raising of revenue. Under Spanish rule, the larger items of income came from fifteen days' forced labor per head, per annum, or its commutation, five million dollars and over; from customs, two millions; from government monopolies, stamps, gambling, opium, cock-fighting, and so on, one million; from lotteries, one-half million.

Much of this is not a proper source of revenue for an enlightened nation. Even with these illegitimate sources of income, Spain made a deficit. "There is no record," writes Foreman, "that the Philippines have ever been in a flourishing financial condition."

Lastly, there is always the chance that Congress, in order to embarrass a president of a different political complexion, may decide to embark upon civil government, and take this tremendous, perhaps dangerous, despotic power out of the Executive's hands.

So that we can hardly expect plain sailing. Our duty is to respect the Constitution, patiently and loyally to do our best under the circumstances, and then to "wish for the day."

## CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

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With the acquisition of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, three novel and interesting problems in the government of dependencies confront the United States. First, we are called upon to govern what yesterday was a white man's oligarchy, resting upon the ruins of a semi-savage monarchy, with a basis of native Pacific islanders, a stratum of Japanese and Chinese, another of Portuguese, and an upper crust of domiciled Americans and Englishmen and Germans. Second, we are called upon to govern an ancient Spanish colony, densely populated, with a proud and impatient Latin race as the dominant factor. Third, we are called upon to govern an ancient Spanish satrapy, densely populated with native islanders of varying races, in varying stages of development, and lying in tropical latitudes alleged to be unfit for Caucasian colonization.

In some respects the problems are totally different from those which have confronted any other government in its dealings with dependencies. Even Hawaii, least difficult of all the problems, presents some novel features, as, for example, the presence of so large a body of subjects of foreign states as to whom our policy has been one of exclusion. Porto Rico, on the other hand, presents to us the difficult task of reconciling an influential class of intelligent Europeans to a change of rulers, of educating the Spaniards, bred in the habits of political thought common to the Latin races, to the notions underlying the American form of government, and, at the same time, preserving the distinctions between the independent form of government of our states and organized territories and that necessary for a dependent outlying island possession. I am not sure but this is, after all, our hardest problem. Whether it is or not must depend upon the attitude of the dominant class in the island. As to the Philippines, I content myself with quoting from the Hon. James Bryce (*Century Magazine*, March 1899, p. 726): "Probably no task has been presented to the English in India or in any of their colonies during the last fifty years so difficult as that to which Americans will

have to address themselves when they become responsible for these islands, with their area of one hundred and fifteen thousand square miles and their semi-savage and savage population of nearly eight millions. No enterprise of like magnitude or complexity has ever lain before the United States before, for when she purchased Louisiana, and again when she conquered vast territories from Mexico, the area acquired was almost empty, and all of it was a temperate region, fit to be peopled by the overflow of her own population and to receive her institutions."

Face to face with these three problems, the American people have promptly addressed themselves to the analysis of the conditions presented, and to a tentative solution of the difficulties.

Analyzing the arguments and suggestions concerning the proper means of governing our new dependencies, we find that there are two primary questions upon which expert opinion is radically divided:

*First.* Does the Constitution of the United States extend of its own force to territories or dependencies governed under laws enacted by the Congress of the United States?

*Second.* Can white men live and thrive in the tropics?

Our views as to the proper form of government for the dependencies, or at least two of them, must be largely influenced or controlled by the answer we return to these two primary questions. If the privileges and immunities accorded to citizens of the states be the constitutional right of citizens of territories, and if the limitations placed upon Congress in legislating for states be equally effective when legislating for territories, then we must pause before attempting to govern the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos under such a system. If it be impracticable to colonize the Philippines, then our form of government, assuming we are free to fix it as we will, must differ materially from that which might be expedient in a territory suitable for colonization by Americans or kindred peoples.

Upon the first question the experts differ radically. On the one hand Professor Langdell and Professor Thayer are convinced that the constitutional limitations of the federal constitution do not apply to Congress when legislating for dependencies. The former in an article of extraordinary acuteness and logic has shown that the term "United

States" means in the constitution either (1) the collective name of the states which are united together by or under the constitution or (2) the name of the sovereign power resident in the federal union of states, and that in the latter sense it is used to express legal or political relations between the collective states and the particular states, or between the former and foreign states, or between the former and private persons, and that in this sense the term can never properly be used to express extent of territory. Only in popular usage, and not in the constitution, is the third meaning of extent of territory over which sovereignty is exercised, to be found. The three meanings may be concisely indicated by the terms Collective or United States, Federal Sovereign, Federal Empire. "The conclusion, therefore, is that, while the term 'United States' has three meanings, only the first and second of these are known to the constitution; and that is equivalent to saying that the Constitution of the United States as such does not extend beyond the limits of the states which are united by and under it." \* Professor Thayer gives it as his opinion that, "there is no lack of power in our nation—of legal, constitutional power—to govern these islands as colonies, substantially as England might govern them." † On the other hand Judge Baldwin, in an article referred to by Professor Woolsey in his address opening this discussion, comes to a contrary conclusion and holds that the guaranties of the constitution extend to all territory of the United States subjected to civil government.‡ To the same effect are other recent discussions.§

Upon the second question experts also differ. It is a debatable question whether white men can live and thrive in the tropics from generation to generation. It is therefore an open question whether the Philippines will lend themselves to successful colonization. On the one hand we have the conclusion of Mr. Kidd in his suggestive essay on "The Control of the Tropics" (p. 30, see also pp. 48, 53-4) that white men cannot be acclimated in the tropics and that "the unusual triviality of the facts upon the one side, and the

\* 12 Harv. Law Rev. 365 (February, 1899).

† 12 Harv. Law Rev. 464, 467 (March, 1899).

‡ 12 Harv. Law Rev. 393, 404-5 (February, 1899).

§ Carmen F. Randolph, 12 Harv. Law Rev. 291 (January, 1899); Professor J. W. Burgess, 14 Pol. Sci. Quar. 1 (March, 1899); Professor Ernst Freund, *Id.*, 19.

apparently massive and overwhelming character of the evidence on the other, will probably bring most unbiased minds to feel that it is a matter upon which in the end there can hardly be room for any real or important difference of opinion." On the other hand, however, we have the testimony and the opinion of the venerable Alfred Russel Wallace (in *The Independent* for March 9, 1899, p. 667) that his observation and experience in tropical countries during a period of four years' residence in Brazil and eight in the Malay archipelago lead to the conclusion that white men can live and work and thrive in tropical lands if proper sanitary conditions are observed. Professor Blackman (*Independent*, March 9, 1899, p. 670) gives many recorded facts to sustain the same conclusion. The experience in Queensland is adduced by both Mr. Wallace and Professor Blackman to add demonstration to the theory otherwise based upon somewhat scattered and isolated facts.

Whatever the truth as to this controversy, it is well for us to take a conservative, if hopeful, view. White men are not likely to flock to the tropics as colonists until it is reasonably certain that they can live there in safety and comfort. Gold fields or diamond fields might entice them, but agriculture and manufacture give too slow a return to encourage the assumption of a large risk. It will be many years before the Philippines will be regarded as a suitable field for any extensive colonization. Moreover we must remember that the islands are already more densely populated than many of the United States and that white men rarely condescend to the harder forms of labor in the presence of large numbers of an inferior race. The Philippines, therefore, must be governed under conditions very similar to those which confront the English in India and the Dutch in Java and Sumatra.

It is, however, not the object of this paper to enlarge upon the second of these questions, or to deal with the form of government best suited to tropical dependencies; but to seek to show that whatever government may be thought best under these conditions, we are free to establish.

The solutions offered, the form of government proposed for these dependencies, is determined by each writer who has approached the problem, in accordance with his views as to the constitutional powers and limitations of Congress.

Those who believe that we are not free to govern as we please, that at every step we shall be beset by constitutional limitations wholly inapplicable to existing conditions, have two possible solutions—a military government or a protectorate. By either of these methods we should avoid all troublesome constitutional questions. By the first we should leave the power where it now resides, in the executive branch of the government. But there are two very serious objections to this. In the first place nothing seems less desirable for the American Republic than a permanent military government in any place subject to its jurisdiction. It is not only opposed to all our political notions and traditions, but it is a dangerous object lesson for a democracy. In the next place, as Professor Woolsey justly says, we should always in the case of military government, be in fear of congressional action which would plunge us into the very troubles from which military government is intended to save us. Is it not too much to hope for, even if it were well to hope for it, that Congress shall remain inactive where it has a clear right, perhaps a clear duty, to act? As a temporary expedient military government may tide us over the period of preparation, but in the near future we must squarely face the problem of settled, civil government.

A protectorate, on the other hand, means an incomplete control, limited and defined by treaty, of a people described by Professor Woolsey's citations as "incapable of gratitude, profligate, undependable, improvident, cruel, impertinent, superstitious, treacherous," a people "so averse to social order, that they can only be ruled by coercion, by the demonstration of force." Under such a treaty we should remain responsible before the world for the good conduct of the islands; we should be held to the protection of foreign interests there and should be responsible for foreign relations; we should be bound by the terms of a convention which could be changed, should experience demonstrate that change is necessary, only by the consent of the other party to it; we should, unless our first arrangement were a miracle of wisdom, be hampered more seriously than by all the provisions of the federal constitution, for that at least we can change without the consent of an Asiatic dependency.

Those who believe that we are free to govern as we please, as free as England would be under like circumstances, look forward to the establishment of a civil government suited

to the needs of the dependency for which it is framed, and backed by such force as is necessary to give it stability and safety. For myself, I believe that such a government is possible and desirable. I believe that the only justifiable form of government for dependencies of the United States is a civil government adapted to the existing conditions and needs of the dependency and administered under the supervision of Congress. While giving due weight to all that may be said to the contrary, I am convinced that Congress is free to establish such a government untrammelled and unrestricted by any provisions of the federal constitution save only the prohibition against slavery. In the space now allotted to me I shall seek to show the grounds of this belief.

Let us examine the provisions of the federal constitution that may touch the matter. Bringing together all the various provisions of that instrument conferring power upon Congress and restricting the power so conferred, we find the following general scheme :

*First.* A specific enumeration of powers, formerly exercised by the states, but by this grant conferred upon Congress, to be exercised over territory and people formerly within the exclusive jurisdiction of the states.\*

*Second.* A specific proviso that in the exercise of the powers so conferred, Congress shall not do certain things.†

*Third.* A specific statement that certain of these powers shall be exclusive and that as to these the states shall not possess concurrent powers.‡

*Fourth.* After all these relations between the federal power and the states are disposed of, a specific, unrestricted grant of power in these words: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."§ In this there is no hint that such power is to be limited in any way by the provisions previously inserted for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the states or of the people of the states.

\* Art. I, sec. 8; Art. III.

† Art. I, sec. 9; Art. III, sec. 2, sub. 3. It is significant that the very first of these forbids Congress to prohibit for a certain period "the migration or importation of such persons as any of the *states now existing* shall think proper to admit." Of the others two specifically mention the states as the territory included in the prohibition.—Art. I, sec. 9, subs. 5 and 6.

‡ Art. I, sec. 10.

§ Art. IV, sec. 3, subs. 2.

Such are the provisions, plain and unequivocal, of the constitution as it was originally adopted. But objection was made that the limitations of Art. I, Sec. 9, and Art. III. Sec. 2, Sub. 3, did not sufficiently safeguard the states, or the people thereof, against the improper exercise of the powers conferred in Art. I, Sec. 8, and in Art. III. Thereupon the first ten amendments were adopted to meet this objection, and it is historically correct to say that these amendments have the same force and effect, and no other, as if they had originally been adopted as a part of the provisos of Art. I, Sec. 9 and Art. III.

Of the later amendments, the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth, are, with no straining of construction, but naturally and logically, to be regarded as a completion of the same purpose. The first section of the Fourteenth determines those who are citizens of the United States and of a state, and is mainly concerned in prohibiting the states from abridging the privileges of such persons. The other sections are plainly aimed at the states. The Fifteenth supplements the Fourteenth by preventing the disfranchisement of the citizens defined in the Fourteenth "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

The Thirteenth Amendment, on the other hand, is by its terms, made to apply not only to the states but to any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Of all the provisions of the constitution this, therefore, is the only one that in terms, or by fair implication, limits the general grant of power to govern the territories or dependencies of the United States.\*

The conclusion is therefore but natural that Congress has all needful powers over the dependencies except that it cannot authorize or permit slavery to exist there.

If the question were wholly a new one, to be determined with reference to our new conditions and unembarrassed by previous pronouncements, I venture to think that this conclusion would easily be reached by the courts. But it is said that the Supreme Court has already decided adversely to this contention, and has expressed a *dictum* adverse to it

\*With this example and purpose before them the Congress and the States adopted in the Fourteenth Amendment the phrase, "All persons born or naturalised in the United States," without a hint that it was intended to include other places subject to their jurisdiction, and the further phrase "citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," without a suggestion that persons are citizens who reside outside the limits of a state. Of course the phrase "and subject to their jurisdiction" refers in this amendment to persons and not to places.

in numerous cases. After a consideration of the cases cited to these propositions, I am ready to confess that the Supreme Court has, in several cases, given utterance to *dicta* to the effect that Congress is restricted by the constitutional limitations in its dealings with the territories, and has, in one case, actually decided that the constitution guarantees to the people of the District of Columbia a trial by jury in all criminal cases. But beyond this I can find no decision of the Supreme Court to the effect claimed—and, as for the *dicta*, while they express the opinion of judges from the point of view presented in the cases in which they were uttered, we are all aware that they will not be allowed to control a subsequent decision in which the court may find it possible and proper to take a contrary view.

In order to understand the precise questions involved in these decisions and *dicta*, and to appreciate the precise questions that may arise should Congress undertake to establish a civil government for Porto Rico and the Philippines, let us arrange under appropriate heads all the restrictions upon congressional power found in the federal constitution and examine such pronouncements as have been made by the federal courts concerning them. They all fall under the following heads: (*a*) Citizenship; (*b*) Justice; (*c*) Revenue; (*d*) Bankruptcy; (*e*) Military Forces; (*f*) Titles of Nobility; (*g*) Freedom of Opinion and Speech; (*h*) Slavery.

(*a*) *Citizenship.*

1. The Congress shall have power . . . to establish a uniform rule of naturalization . . . throughout the United States.—Art. I, sec. 8, sub. 4.

2. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.—Amend. XIV, sec. 1.

3. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.—Amend. XV.

4. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.—Art. IV, sec. 2, sub. 1.

Under this head the first provision and the last may be passed over. I am sure there will be a general agreement that the last is by its terms a restriction upon the states and not upon the United States, and that as applied to the states it comprehends only those privileges and immunities which are in their nature fundamental, as protection by the government, the enjoyment of life and liberty with the right to

acquire and enjoy property subject to such restraints as the government may justly prescribe for the public good.\* It is now too plain for argument that when the word state is used in the constitution it refers to one of the members of the Union and does not include the District of Columbia or the territories.† Internationally it may be otherwise, and the word state in a treaty may include any political entity whose foreign affairs are conducted by the federal government.‡ This distinction between the meaning of phrases as used in the constitution and the same phrases as used in international law is very important, though it has sometimes been overlooked by commentators.

As to the first of the above provisions, it is proper to make two observations: First, I cannot conceive that we should be at all embarrassed by allowing the same persons to be naturalized in Porto Rico or the Philippines as in Florida or California; second, the remarks which follow as to the second and third provisions above quoted and to the rule requiring taxes to be uniform throughout the United States, are equally applicable to this provision, and, if justified, establish that the phrase United States means the states united by and under the constitution.

The second and third provisions—the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—present a question of the very first importance. Will all persons hereafter born in Porto Rico or the Philippines or Hawaii be citizens of the United States under the definition contained in the Fourteenth Amendment and entitled to the protection of that and the Fifteenth Amendment? I wish to point out that the answer to this question is not dependent, in my judgment, upon the establishment of a civil government in these islands. Under whose jurisdiction are the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos and the Hawaiians? Not Spain's, for hers has been yielded to the United States. Not that of a Porto Rican or Filipino or Hawaiian government for there is none *de jure* or *de facto*. It cannot be that any one of these groups is derelict and without a government to exercise jurisdiction. There remains but one answer. From the moment the treaty of cession is in effect the islands and the inhabitants thereof are

\* *Corfield v. Coryell*, 4 Wash. C. C. 371; *McCready v. Virginia*, 94 U. S. 391; *Geer v. Connecticut*, 161 U. S. 519.

† *Hepburn v. Ellzey*, 2 Cranch, 445; *New Orleans v. Winter*, 1 Wheaton, 91; *Barney v. Baltimore*, 6 Wallace, 280.

‡ *Geofroy v. Riggs*, 133 U. S. 258.

subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and if the islands are a part of the United States, within the meaning of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, then every child born in them after the treaty is effective, is a citizen of the United States with all a citizen's privileges and immunities, and the United States cannot deny to such citizen the right to vote on account of race or color. While those provisions of the constitution which are expressly or impliedly an inhibition upon Congress could not be operative in any event, until Congress chose to act, this provision, which simply defines citizenship, does not wait upon any act of Congress, any more than does the provision of the Thirteenth Amendment. The sole question is, whether, like the Thirteenth Amendment, it is operative in all places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

But are persons born in these islands born in the United States within the meaning of the constitution? The answer to this question must depend upon the meaning given to the term "United States." If the contention of Professor Langdell is correct—and I believe that it is—then the term must be taken, for constitutional and legal purpose, in its natural, primary meaning of the states united or federated under the constitution. A person born in one of these is a citizen of the United States (the federal sovereign), and of the state where he resides; no state shall make any law to abridge his privileges or immunities as such citizen; neither the state nor the United States shall deny to him the suffrage on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. But the status of a person born outside the limits of the states so united or federated is not defined by the constitution made and established for such states, but by the law of nations, the common law, and such statutes as may be enacted by Congress, precisely as the status of persons born in the states was thus defined before these amendments went into effect. Here we come again to the distinction between the constitutional and the international definition or use of terms. A state in the constitution means one of the United States; in international law it means any political entity over which the United States, in external affairs, exercises jurisdiction. A citizen in the constitution means a person born or naturalized in one of the United States and subject to their jurisdiction; it means in international law a person born in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States

and himself subject to such jurisdiction. That this is the natural meaning to be attached to the term as defined in the constitution will be apparent upon a little consideration. When we reflect that these amendments were aimed at states lately in rebellion, that the restrictions contained in them are mainly in terms restrictions upon the states, that there is a specific statement that the person shall be a citizen "of the United States and of the state," that with the example of the Thirteenth Amendment before them Congress and the states would have used a more comprehensive phrase had they intended to include the territories or other places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States that, finally, there is no reason here or elsewhere, save in the Thirteenth Amendment, to impute any intention to extend the constitutional limitations beyond the states framing the constitution, but, on the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that such limitations are imposed for the protection of the states and the people thereof, we are bound, it seems to me, to conclude that, while persons born in the dependencies may be citizens of the United States in the international sense or the sense known to the common law, or may be made citizens for specified purposes by statute or treaty, they are not such by force of any constitutional provision and are subject, therefore, in all internal relations, to such laws as Congress in its wisdom may see fit to enact.

I am not unaware that there are *dicta*—particularly in the *Slaughter-House Cases*\*—which make against this conclusion. But it need hardly be said that *dicta* uttered by a judge twenty-five years ago in deciding whether an act of the State of Louisiana which created a monopoly in the business of running a slaughter-house was constitutional, would have very little weight before the same court when called upon to decide the constitutional status of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago. It has, indeed, been decided that a person, though of Asiatic parentage, born in one of the states, is a citizen of the United States and of the state.† But it has never been decided that a person born in a territory is a citizen of the United States within the meaning of these amendments, while it has been decided that an Indian born a member of an Indian tribe is not a

\* 16 Wallace, 36.

† United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 169 U. S. 649.

citizen of the United States although he voluntarily separates himself from his tribe and takes up his residence among the white citizens of a state.\*

It is probably competent for Congress to enlarge, though not to restrict, the definition of citizenship found in the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress may, therefore, by suitable legislation determine what inhabitants of territories or what Indians born in tribal relations shall be deemed citizens.† It is also competent for the treaty-making power in acquiring territory to establish by treaty the status as to citizenship of the inhabitants of the territory. This was in fact done in all treaties of cession prior to the one ceding Porto Rico and the Philippines.‡ But such citizenship, whether established by statute or treaty, is a legislative and not a constitutional citizenship. What the treaty-making power or the legislative power may grant it may withhold. As the treaty ceding Porto Rico and the Philippines is silent on this point, it therefore rests with Congress to grant or withhold citizenship for internal purposes to the inhabitants of those dependencies. It is unnecessary now to inquire whether, if once granted, such grant may afterwards be withdrawn.

(b) *Justice.*

1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, . . . to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, etc.—Art. III, secs. 1 and 2.

2. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.—Art. III, sec. 2, sub. 3.

\**Hik v. Wilkins*, 112 U. S., 94.

†Indian Land-in-Severalty Act of February 8, 1887. Sec. 6, found in 24 Statutes-at-Large, p. 388.

‡Art. III of the treaty of cession of Louisiana; Art. VI of treaty of cession of Florida; Art. IX of treaty of 1848, and Art. V of treaty of 1853, with Mexico; Art. III of treaty of cession of Alaska. Referring to the treaty of cession of Florida, Chief Justice Marshall in *American Ins. Co. v. Canter* (1 Peters 511, 542), says: "This treaty is the law of the land and admits the inhabitants of Florida to the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

3. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.—Amend. V.

4. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.—Amend. VI.

5. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.—Amend. VII.

6. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.—Amend. VIII.

7. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.—Art. I, sec. 9, subs. 2.

8. No bill of attainder *orex post facto* law shall be passed.—Art. I, sec. 9, sub. 3.

9. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.—Amend. IV.

These provisions govern the power of Congress in the establishment of courts and in the enactment of laws for the administration of justice in the courts so established.

Among the earliest decisions as to the powers of Congress over the territories were those concerning the establishment of courts, and it was distinctly held that these powers are plenary and are unrestricted by the provisions of Article III, Section 1. At the outset of our inquiries into the meaning of the provisions concerning the administration of justice, we find that under the decisions of the Supreme Court, the first provision quoted above, has no reference whatever to the territories, that Congress may establish there such courts as it sees fit, give to them such jurisdiction as it pleases, provide for the appointment of judges whose terms of office

shall be limited and subject them to removal from office at the pleasure of the appointing power.\* The leading case on this is the case of the American Insurance Company v. Canter (1 Peters, 511), in which, in the course of his argument, Webster, one of the counsel in the case, used this significant language:

"What is Florida? It is no part of the United States. How can it be? How is it represented? Do the laws of the United States reach Florida? Not unless by particular provisions. The territory and all within it are to be governed by the acquiring power, except where there are reservations by treaty. By the law of England, when possession is taken of territories, the king, *jure Coronae*, has the power of legislation until parliament shall interfere. Congress have the *Jus Coronae* in this case, and Florida was to be governed by Congress as she thought proper. What has Congress done? She might have done anything; she might have refused the trial by jury, and refused a legislature. She has given a legislature to be exercised at her will; and a government of a mixed nature, in which she has endeavored to distinguish between state and the United States jurisdiction, anticipating the future erection of the territory into a state. Does the law establishing the court at Key West come within the restrictions of the Constitution of the United States? If the constitution does not extend over this territory, the law cannot be inconsistent with the national constitution."

Chief Justice Marshall, in his opinion in the case, does not go to this length, but he decides for the court in favor of the power of Congress to establish such courts as it pleases in the territories, either directly or through the territorial legislature, and to confer upon them such jurisdiction as it thinks proper. He says:

"These courts, then, are not constitutional courts, in which the judicial power conferred by the constitution on the general government, can be deposited. They are incapable of receiving it. They are legislative courts, created in virtue of the general right of sovereignty which exists in the government, or in virtue of that clause which enables Congress to make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory belonging to the United States. The jurisdiction with which they are invested is not a part of that judicial power which is defined in the third article of the constitution, but is conferred by Congress, in the execution of those general powers which that body possesses over the territories of the United States. Although admiralty jurisdiction can be exercised in the states in those courts only, which are established in pursuance of the third article of the constitution, the same limitation does not extend to the territories. In legislating for them, Congress exercises the combined powers of the general, and of a state government."

\* *Serè v. Pitot*, 6 Cranch, 332; *American Insurance Company v. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511; *Benner v. Porter*, 9 Howard, 235; *Clinton v. Englebrecht*, 13 Wallace, 434; *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U. S. 145; *The City of Panama*, 101 U. S. 453; *McAllister v. United States*, 141 U. S. 174.

In *Clinton v. Englebrecht* (13 Wallace, 434), Chief Justice Chase reiterates the same doctrine, in these words:

"There is no Supreme Court of the United States, nor is there any District Court of the United States, in the sense of the constitution, in the territory of Utah. The judges are not appointed for the same terms, nor is the jurisdiction which they exercise part of the judicial power conferred by the constitution or the general government. The courts are the legislative courts of the territories, created in virtue of the clause which authorizes Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories belonging to the United States."

It is clear then that "the judicial power of the United States" means the judicial power of the federal government as exercised within the territory comprising the states, and has no reference to the judicial powers exercised in the territories.

As to the provisions guaranteeing trial by jury, the first is found in Article III, immediately following the provision for the establishment of courts and defining their jurisdiction, and is plainly intended to fix the procedure and safeguards in the courts so established. We have just seen that that provision for the establishment of courts does not apply to the territories, but that the territorial courts are established under the general unrestricted grant of power "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory . . . belonging to the United States." Since therefore the territorial courts do not owe their existence to Article III, is it logical or reasonable to hold that they are restricted by the provisions of Article III? Since they do owe their existence to the broad legislative grant in Article IV, is it not necessary to conclude that they are restricted in their powers and procedure by the legislation creating them and by that alone? In other words all constitutional courts—that is, the Supreme Court and the inferior courts created in the United States—are subject to constitutional limitations, but the legislative courts—that is, the territorial courts—are not subject to constitutional but to legislative limitations.

The provisions in Amendments V, VI and VII, are, historically, to be read as if a part of Article III, and to be construed in the same manner as the provisions just considered. The same is true of the other provisions dealing with judicial writs, procedure and punishment. All of them except two are found in the first ten amendments, and those

two are in Article I, Section 9 (sub-sections 2 and 3) which, as we have seen, limits logically the powers of Congress conferred in Article I, Section 8, in legislating for the territory or the people of the states united under the constitution.

There is one decision and there are some *dicta* that stand in the way of so construing these provisions—especially as to the right to trial by jury. The decision is in *Callan v. Wilson* (127 U. S. 540), where the Supreme Court holds that a citizen of the District of Columbia has a constitutional right to a trial by jury when charged with a crime, and that an act of Congress denying this right is unconstitutional. Upon this case, which must be distinguished or overruled if the construction here contended for is to be established, these observations are proper. First, the grant of legislative power "over such district as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States," is contained in Article I, Section 8, along with the other grants of power conferred by the states and is followed by and may perhaps be regarded as limited by, the same restrictions as the other grants. Second, the grant contemplates the transfer of territory and people then governed by some state to the United States, and it is not unreasonable to think that the states were desirous of securing for this territory and people the same protection as for the states themselves; finally, as observed by Professor Langdell in another connection, "the constitution once extended over it, and it may not be easy to show that it has ever ceased to extend over it.\*"

In the case of the *American Publishing Co. v. Fisher* (166 U. S. 464), where an act of the Territory of Utah which provided that "in civil cases a verdict may be rendered on the concurrence of nine or more members of the jury," was held invalid as contravening the act under which Utah was admitted as a territory, the court leaves undecided the question whether the Seventh Amendment applies. The state of the decisions on this point is thus concisely summarized by Mr. Justice Brewer:

"Whether the Seventh Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that 'in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved,' operates *ex proprio vigore* to invalidate

\* 12 Harv. Law Rev., p. 382.

this statute, may be a matter of dispute. In *Webster v. Reid*, 11 How. 437, an act of the legislature of the Territory of Iowa dispensing with a jury in a certain class of common law actions was held void. While in the opinion, on page 460, the Seventh Amendment was quoted, it was also said: 'The organic law of the Territory of Iowa, by express provision and by reference, extended the laws of the United States, including the ordinance of 1787, over the territory, so far as they are applicable;' and the ordinance of 1787, article 2, in terms provided that 'the inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury.' So the invalidity may have been adjudged by reason of the conflict with congressional legislation. In *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U. S. 145, 154, it was said, in reference to a criminal case coming from the Territory of Utah, that 'by the Constitution of the United States (Amendment VI) the accused was entitled to a trial by an impartial jury.' Both of these cases were quoted in *Callan v. Wilson*, 127 U. S. 540, as authorities to sustain the ruling that the provisions in the Constitution of the United States relating to trial by jury are in force in the District of Columbia. On the other hand, in *Mormon Church v. United States*, 136 U. S. 1, 44, it was said by Mr. Justice Bradley, speaking for the court: 'Doubtless Congress in legislating for the territories would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the constitution from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions.' And in *McAllister v. United States*, 141 U. S. 174, it was held that the constitutional provision in respect to the tenure of judicial offices did not apply to territorial judges."

In the case of *Springville v. Thomas* (166 U. S. 707), involving the same question, broader language is used by Chief Justice Fuller, but the decision is sufficiently rested upon the ground stated in *American Publishing Co. v. Fisher*.

In the later case of *Thompson v. Utah* (170 U. S. 343), it was decided that the provision of the constitution of the State of Utah that in criminal cases, other than capital, the jury should consist of eight jurors, was unconstitutional as to crimes committed prior to the adoption of the state constitution, as contravening the provision of Article I, Section 10, Sub. 1, of the federal constitution prohibiting any state from passing an *ex post facto* law. But the court went further and argued that the provisions of the national constitution relating to trials by jury apply to the territories. That this was extra judicial may be seen from the following considerations: (1) the law of the territory (independent of the Constitution of the United States) provided that a

trial jury should consist of twelve persons; (2) the crime was committed while the law was in effect; (3) subsequently the state constitution provided for the trial of this crime by a jury of eight persons; (4) therefore this provision of the state constitution was *ex post facto* as to this crime. In all this there is no question of Article III, Section 2, or of the Sixth Amendment, but only of Article I, Section 10, Sub. 1, which prohibits a state from passing an *ex post facto* law. That this is the understanding of the reporter is evident from the head note of the case which simply states, as the holding of the court that, "the provision in the constitution of the State of Utah, providing for the trial of criminal cases, not capital, in courts of general jurisdiction by a jury composed of eight persons, is *ex post facto* in its application to felonies committed before the territory became a state." Precisely the same decision would be necessary had the first act been passed after Utah was a state, the crime committed while the act was in force, and then the provision of the constitution had altered the prior act by substituting a jury of eight persons for a jury of twelve. The argument, therefore, that the right of the accused rested upon the provisions of the federal constitution guaranteeing trial by jury, was wholly unnecessary to the decision of the case.\*

We may set over against the decision in *Callan v. Wilson* and the *dicta* in the other cases the decision in *In re Ross* (140 U. S. 453), where it was held that a consular court established by Congress in Japan, and consisting of a consul and four associates, could try, convict and sentence to death an American citizen without any jury at all. This is rested upon the ground that the constitution cannot have any effect outside of the territory of the United States and that, therefore, the accused is not within the protection of the provisions relating to jury trial. Such is the contention of this paper. The constitution cannot have any effect outside the states united by and under it, unless by express terms (as in the Thirteenth Amendment) it is extended to places "subject to their jurisdiction." It is, of course, clear that the territory of Japan is not within the United States in any sense. What is here contended for is that the territories, lying outside the limits of the states, are not within the

\* As much so as the argument of the judges in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (19 Howard, 393), that Congress had not power to prohibit slavery in the territories.

United States, in the sense in which that term is used in the constitution, although they are within the United States in the international and popular sense of the term.

Further light may be had from the consideration of the sovereignty of the United States over the Indian tribes. In the government of them the federal power has never regarded itself as circumscribed or limited by the provisions of the constitution. It is true the policy for a long time was to govern them through treaties, but this policy has lately been abandoned and they are now largely governed under legislation of Congress. The powers of Congress in this matter were considered in *United States v. Kagama* (118 U. S. 375), and it was there held that an act defining crimes committed by one Indian against another upon an Indian reservation, situated in a state, and conferring jurisdiction over such crimes upon the federal courts, was a constitutional exercise of congressional power, and that the state had no jurisdiction over Indians as long as they maintain their tribal relations. "These Indian tribes," it is said, "are the wards of the nation. They are communities *dependent* upon the United States." Therefore the United States has exclusive jurisdiction over them, as it has over the territories, and there is, it seems, no constitutional restriction upon the exercise of this jurisdiction.

Congress may therefore establish such courts and provide such procedure as it deems expedient in foreign territory or for Indian tribes, and is not restricted by any provisions of the federal constitution. If the reasoning of this paper be sound, it may in like manner establish such courts and provide such procedure as it deems expedient in any territory not subject to the jurisdiction of a state of the Union. To quote the language of Mr. Justice Brown in the recent case of *Holden v. Hardy* (169 U. S. 366, 389):

"In the future growth of the nation, as heretofore, it is not impossible that Congress may see fit to annex territories whose jurisprudence is that of the civil law. One of the considerations moving to such annexation might be the very fact that the territory so annexed should enter the Union with its traditions, laws and systems of administration unchanged. It would be a narrow construction of the constitution to require them to abandon these, or to substitute for a system, which represented the growth of generations of inhabitants, a jurisprudence with which they had no previous acquaintance or sympathy."

This statement, although made in another connection, and in the course of a determination of the powers of a state, is nevertheless significant as indicative of an attitude of mind which would make it possible for the Supreme Court to give effect, under the constitution, to legislation of Congress adapted to dependencies whose jurisprudence is certainly not that of the common law however close or remote may be its relation to the civil law.

(c) *Revenue.*

1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises . . . ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.—Art. I, Sec. 8, Subs. 1.

2. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.—Art. I, Sec. 9, Subs. 4.

3. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.—Art. I, Sec. 9, Subs. 5.

4. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.—Art. I, Sec. 9, Subs. 6.

Under the provisions as to means of raising revenue, it may be observed that only the first provision (Art. I, Sec. 8, Subs. 1) could possibly present any difficulty to Congress in the governing of dependencies. As to this, what has already been said concerning citizenship applies here *mutatis mutandis*. The restriction as to uniformity of duties, imposts and excises throughout the United States would be very embarrassing, if it should be held applicable to territory lying outside the limits of any state. But there is no good reason for thinking that it is applicable to such territory, while many reasons may be assigned for holding the contrary. First it is found in the very first grant of power to Congress by the states, and is clearly intended to restrict Congress in exercising the powers yielded by the states over their own territory and people. Second, the term "United States" as here used clearly means the states uniting in the formation of this instrument and those that should thereafter be admitted upon the same terms. Third, the subsequent grant of full powers over the territory belonging to the federal sovereign contains no hint that these prior restrictions are intended to limit or restrict that power.

There is, indeed, a *dictum* in an early case that makes against this construction. In *Loughborough v. Blake*

(5 Wheaton, 317), decided in 1820, Chief Justice Marshall was called upon to decide whether an act of Congress including the District of Columbia in an apportionment of a direct annual tax of \$6,000,000 previously laid upon the states, was constitutional. The decision could be rested squarely upon the grant of full legislative power over the District found in Article I, Section 8, subsection 17, but the chief justice indulges in some extra judicial observations as to the meaning of the term "United States" as used in Article I, Section 8, Subsection 1, in the course of which he lays it down that the term includes the states and territories. Yet in the later case of *American Insurance Company v. Canter* (1 Peters, 511) he rests the decision upon the general grant of powers over the territories as distinguished from the states, while Webster in his argument flatly denies that the restrictions applicable to legislative power over the states have any force in the exercise of legislative power over the territories, and neither the court nor the counsel make any reference to the *dictum* in this case. The case, moreover, has never since been cited by the court as sustaining the view taken by the chief justice. Even if we were to give weight to the *dictum*, we could still distinguish the case on the same ground as the case of *Callan v. Wilson* (*Ante*, p. 34), namely, that it is concerned, not with the grant of power over the territories, found in Article IV, but with the special grant of power over the district ceded for the seat of government, found in Article I, Section 8. That this is the correct view seems to be confirmed by the explanation given of *Loughborough v. Blake* in *Gibbons v. District of Columbia* (116 U. S. 404, 407).

The case of *Cross v. Harrison* (16 Howard, 164) is also sometimes cited as teaching a doctrine contrary to the position here taken. But that case simply decided that, after the treaty of cession of California by Mexico, and before Congress had legislated concerning the territory, the Executive Department might lawfully collect an import duty at San Francisco as at other ports of the United States. This is rested upon the argument that, in the absence of a contrary provision in the treaty, the territory became instantly bound and privileged by the laws Congress had previously passed to raise a revenue on imports and tonnage. Even conceding that this is sound reasoning, it is very far from saying that Congress could not, or the treaty-making power

could not, have provided a different system for the territory. A statement that acts of Congress which, when passed, covered states and territories, would extend of their own force to after-acquired territory, unless differently stipulated in the treaty of cession, is no support whatever for the proposition that the constitution will extend of its own force to such territory. It seems to me that the case carries a distinct recognition of the right of the treaty-making power or of Congress to provide a different system for the territory, and that the decision is rested upon the omission in the treaty to provide for any different system. I think it proper to add, further, that in my judgment the case could be sufficiently rested upon the power of the Executive to administer the territory in the absence of legislation, and that in such administration the Executive might, in his discretion, though he would not be bound so to do, adopt the existing tariff rates of the rest of the country. But however this may be, there is certainly nothing in this case that upholds the contention that Congress is constitutionally bound to provide import duties in the territories uniform with those in the states.

(d) *Bankruptcy Acts.*

The Congress shall have power . . . to establish . . . uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.—Art. I, Sec. 8, Subs. 4.

This provision is to be construed in the same manner as the provision as to uniform revenue laws or uniform naturalization laws. It occurs in the same subsection as the latter, and all that has been said on the other two provisions as to "uniform" laws is applicable to this provision. In any event the provision could hardly be a source of embarrassment in legislating for the dependencies.

(e) *Military Forces.*

1. A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.—Amend. II.

2. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.—Amend. III.

The first of these provisions contains a clear intimation that it is intended for the security of the states. A territory is not a "free state;" it is a dependency to be governed

as Congress may deem expedient. As it is thus within the power of Congress, there would be an absurdity in holding that it is to be given a right to bear arms in order to resist the exercise of that power. A territorial militia may be authorized or not by Congress, just as a state militia may be authorized or not by a state. While, therefore, some have urged that this provision would entitle the Porto Ricans or the Filipinos to bear arms, and thus prepare for insurrections, it seems almost too clear for argument that no such construction could properly be put upon the provision, even if the contention as to the whole of these amendments, namely, that they are intended only for the protection of states, should be inadmissible.

The second provision could be no source of embarrassment. But, of course, like all the others, it must, on the theory here advanced, be held to be no restriction upon the powers of Congress in dealing with the territories.

*(f) Titles of Nobility.*

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.—Art. I, Sec. 9, Subs. 8.

In its terms this is the broadest of all the provisions found in the constitution as originally passed. While the construction contended for in this paper should, of course, extend to this provision also, it could be of no consequence practically whether it were so construed or not. It is very doubtful whether any circumstances could ever arise calling for a construction of it.

*(g) Freedom of Opinion and Speech.*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.—Amend. I.

Of all the amendments this is the broadest in its terms. But it should have no different construction than any of the other of the first ten amendments. Each is intended to secure to the states or the people thereof, an immunity against the aggressions of the federal power. Even if, however, it should be held to protect equally the people of a dependency, it is difficult to see how it would interfere with the proper government of such dependency, as it is altogether

improbable that Congress would think it expedient to exercise any one of the powers prohibited in the amendment.

(h) *Slavery.*

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.—Amend. XIII.

This provision is the only one found in the constitution which in terms limits the powers of Congress in dealing with the territories. The latter are subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and therefore within the protection of the amendment prohibiting slavery. It is a very significant fact, throwing light upon the view of Congress and the states as to the meaning of the other constitutional limitations that the phrase, "or any place subject to their jurisdiction," should have been inserted in this amendment. If, as has been urged by some, all the limitations extend to the states and territories alike, that is to all places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, why should Congress and the states have been anxious to insert here a phrase expressly including the territories? If the phrases, "throughout the United States," "within the United States," used elsewhere in the constitution, mean throughout or within all territory over which the federal sovereign has jurisdiction, then the phrase here used is not only useless, but dangerous, for while it adds nothing, it throws a grave doubt at once upon the meaning of the phrases previously used. Is it not obvious that it was inserted because the other phrases were understood to mean throughout or within the territory of the states united under the constitution, while as to this amendment the Congress and the states meant to go further and include that territory and also the territory over which by Article I, Section 8, subsection 17, and Article IV, Section 3, subsection 2, Congress has been given plenary power?

These are all the provisions of the constitution that restrict the powers of Congress. These are all the important decisions of the Supreme Court, save one, that directly consider the question whether Congress is subject to any of these restrictions, or to any restrictions, in legislating for the territories. It still remains to consider the case of *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (19 Howard, 393). Scott claimed his freedom on two grounds: that he had been taken by his

master to the free state of Illinois and had resided there two years; that he had then been taken to the free territory of Upper Louisiana (now Minnesota) where slavery was prohibited under an act of Congress (The Missouri Compromise), and had resided there two years. He had then been taken back to the State of Missouri where he had since resided and where he now sued for his freedom. The question on its merits was whether residence in the free state or the free territory, followed by a return to the slave state, worked an emancipation. The decision on the merits was simply this: residence in a free state or a free territory followed by a return to and residence in a slave state will have such effect, and no other, as the latter state may by the decisions of its highest court give to it; the highest court of Missouri gave no extra-territorial effect to the laws prohibiting slavery in the state and territory in which Scott had resided and deemed him on his return to Missouri still a slave; therefore the federal court was bound to follow the same holding. This disposed of the case on its merits, without any inquiry into the validity or constitutionality of the law prohibiting slavery in the territory, for admitting it to be valid and constitutional it could have no larger effect in working the emancipation of Scott than the confessedly valid law of Illinois. But a majority of the court went further and in opinions clearly extra-judicial held the act of Congress prohibiting slavery in the territory to be unconstitutional. This is put on the singularly narrow ground that the ample grant of power to Congress "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States" is confined to territory belonging to the United States at the time the constitution was adopted "and cannot, by any just rule of interpretation, be extended to territory which the new government might afterwards obtain from a foreign nation." The sole right to acquire such territory is found in the provision for the admission of new states. Upon this is built up a novel doctrine as to the limited powers which Congress, as the agent or trustee of the states, may temporarily exercise in governing a territory so acquired while nursing it toward statehood, a doctrine now laid up among the discredited curiosities of the law together with all the rest of the extra-judicial utterances of this celebrated case. I suppose no one would now seriously cite the Dred Scott decision as authority

for the proposition that Congress has not full power to govern the territories as it may deem most expedient. Certainly that the main premise of the Dred Scott argument is unsound and discredited is shown by the statement in *Utter v. Franklin* (172 U. S. 416, 423) that, "this court has repeatedly held that Congress has full legislative power over the territories, as full as that which a state legislature has over its municipal corporations."

Aside from the Dred Scott case and the others previously cited, the pronouncements of the Supreme Court upon the question of constitutional limitations upon the power defined in *Utter v. Franklin* have been in terms indicative of a vague constitutional theory rather than of a settled constitutional doctrine. Such is the statement of Mr. Justice Matthews in *Murphy v. Ramsey* (114 U. S. 15, 44) that, "the personal and civil rights of the inhabitants of the territories are secured to them, as to other citizens, by the principles of constitutional liberty which restrain all the agencies of government, state or national." Such, also, is the statement of Mr. Justice Bradley in *Mormon Church v. United States* (136 U. S. 1, 44-5), repeated by Mr. Justice Harlan in *McAllister v. United States* (141 U. S. 174, 188), that, "doubtless Congress in legislating for the territories would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the constitution, from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct applications of its provisions."

We need hardly dwell upon such pronouncement. We may rather recur to the classic statement of Chief Justice Marshall in *Cohens v. Virginia* (6 Wheaton, 264, 399): "It is a maxim not to be disregarded that general expressions, in every opinion, are to be taken in connection with the case in which those expressions are used. If they go beyond the case, they may be respected, but ought not to control the judgment in a subsequent suit when the very point is presented for decision. The reason of this maxim is obvious. The question actually before the court is investigated with care, and considered in its full extent. Other principles which may serve to illustrate it, are considered in their relation to the case decided, but their possible bearing on all other cases is seldom completely investigated." This maxim we may

now invoke. New conditions never contemplated by the judges who voiced these general expressions have suddenly arisen. Those expressions may be respected as applicable to the cases in which they were used, but they will hardly control the judgment of the judges who shall be called upon to decide the weighty questions involved in the government of remote island dependencies.

When those questions arise for settlement it will be possible to hold, with entire loyalty to the constitution, and respect for judicial decisions, that all dependencies, except the District of Columbia, are governed under the general power given to Congress "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States;" that this power is limited only by the provision prohibiting slavery within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction; that no decision of the Supreme Court holds that any other limit is placed upon the powers of Congress over the territories; and that such *dicta* as may be found to the contrary are either wholly discredited or resolve themselves into a mere statement of constitutional or political theory.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES.

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One whose knowledge of our new possessions is derived entirely from books must speak upon the problem of their government with diffidence. The only thing of which he can be absolutely sure is the defectiveness of his own information, its insufficiency as a basis for conclusive inductions, and all that he can do is to offer suggestions derived from the experience of other countries under conditions that have at least a considerable similarity with those we are called upon to face. Our policy must at first be tentative, and no doubt we shall make mistakes; but we certainly want to approach the problem with such light as can be drawn from the successes and failures of other nations, and all that the writer ventures to hope is that the few suggestions that can be offered in a paper of this length will contribute something toward setting forth the questions which our government must solve.

In this discussion I shall make two assumptions. First, that our primary aim is to be the welfare of the dependencies. Such an attitude is alone worthy of an enlightened nation, and the history of colonization shows that it is almost, if not quite, impossible to make colonies a permanent benefit to the dominant country on any other basis. The dependencies ought eventually to be self-supporting, but we have no right to expect them to be a source of public revenue. The second assumption is that the provisions of the Constitution of the United States do not apply to our new possessions in such a way as to interfere seriously with the establishment of the most desirable form of administration. This assumption is, I believe, well founded, but the subject is a large one, and cannot be treated in the space to which this paper must necessarily be confined.

Within a year we have acquired three groups of islands, all within the tropic of Cancer, but differing from one another radically in the character of their people and in the nature of the problems they present. In one of them, Hawaii, there is a considerable element of Anglo-Saxon

origin, which is, indeed, small as compared with the total population, but is to-day, and is apparently destined to remain, the ruling class in the island. It is not improbable, therefore, that our institutions can be immediately applied to the Sandwich Islands without modification, and such is the recommendation of the commissioners appointed to consider the subject. They have reported, in effect, in favor of a territorial government copied from the pattern that has proved successful in the West.

The other annexations present problems which are not only more difficult, but are as unlike each other as either of them is to that of Hawaii. There is, in fact, a vital difference between Porto Rico and the Philippines. Civilization in Porto Rico, as in the United States, is essentially European, and hence our aim must be to develop the people in the lines of our own life. Their condition is not so far from ours, and their climate is not so far tropical, as to set up an impassable barrier; and if it is possible to bring them into accord with our political, social and economic standards, every consideration of their welfare and our own should lead us to do so.

In the Philippines, on the other hand, which are strictly tropical in climate, the civilization, like that of India, of the Malay Peninsula and of Borneo, is mainly indigenous, and hence we ought to endeavor, as the English have done, to promote social evolution along the natural lines of the race. We should not try to impress our ideas in upon them in a flood, but help them to advance in their own way. In other words, our object must be to make them not Americans but civilized Malays.

The two problems are quite distinct, and each presents its peculiar difficulties. One is that of a subtropical island whose inhabitants, although foreigners, are largely of European blood. The other is that of a tropical country, peopled almost entirely by Asiatics. The English have shown in India, and in the still closer parallel of the Malay Peninsula, that the Philippine problem can be solved. They have shown that peoples not unlike the Tagals, the Visayans and the Moros can be ruled successfully; and our difficulty lies in the fact that we have yet to learn the art, and must display the self-restraint required to practice it. The difficulty here is not so much to find out how the thing ought to be done, as to do it; while in Porto Rico the opposite is true.

There historical examples are of negative rather than of positive value. In the cases most nearly analogous there were conditions that simplified matters, and England adopted, as I shall try to show, a solution that is hardly open to us. The Philipinos are utterly incapable of ruling themselves in a civilized way, so that there need be no question about the need of obtaining the consent of the governed, to distract us in the pursuit of their welfare; but in Porto Rico the political aspirations of the people cannot be disregarded, and it will probably not be easy to reconcile these with our views of the best policy for the island. The difference is like that of managing a small child and a half-grown man. A wise parent does what is best for the child, and makes him obey; but the lad must be allowed a pass-key, and yet is not given control of his property.

If we are constrained to undertake the management of Cuba, the problem will be like that of Porto Rico and will present similar difficulties.

#### THE PHILIPPINES.

The task here is that of ruling a tropical colony, where the proportion of white men must always remain insignificant, and where the natives, except in the case of selected individuals, will be incapable of taking part in the government for an indefinite period. The most important requisites for the administration of such a colony are justice, a consistent policy, and a thorough knowledge of the native character. The first of these will probably be best attained by the methods pursued in all English-speaking countries, the methods which the English have generally adopted in ruling Asiatics, that of placing alongside the higher administrative officials independent judicial tribunals. It must inevitably happen that local officials are sometimes given judicial powers, but in such cases there ought to be an appeal to the supreme court of the colony, so composed that one or more of the members shall be versed in the common law and others thoroughly familiar with the native customs. Such a court cannot be created in a day, but with care it could be brought to perfection before long.

Not less indispensable are a consistent policy, and knowledge of native character. The need of the last of these is self-evident, and in regard to the former it is clear that nothing will destroy the confidence and respect of the native

more quickly than any appearance of vacillation. Now England, the greatest of all colonizing powers, and Holland, the next most successful, have both sought to attain these objects by treating their colonial officials as a distinct permanent service, and offering an assured career to every man who entered it, and it is hard to see how the result can be reached in any other way. A knowledge of the native character and conditions is not one of those things that comes from Yankee shrewdness, or skill in operating the political machine. It requires long residence on the spot. France has made the mistake of selecting her colonial officials from the home administrative service, and sending them to the colonies as a step in the line of their promotion. Leroy-Beaulieu, the first of French authorities on colonies, laments this practice of his countrymen, and it has certainly been one of the causes of their lack of success. We must remember, also, that service in the tropics is far from healthy, and if the proper kind of man is to be secured the pay must be liberal, and the incumbent must be able to look forward to a pension that will enable him to spend the rest of his life comfortably at home after devoting his best years to the work of the colony. Entrance into the service ought, of course, to be conditioned upon proof of qualification. The English make their examinations for the Indian civil service of such a nature as to admit only men of liberal education, and encourage the successful candidates to spend their two years of probation at one of the universities. They have felt the great importance of bringing to bear upon colonial administration the highest and broadest culture that the mother country can produce—certainly an excellent method of making European civilization a potent influence in the East. Probably the best way of recruiting our colonial service would be to establish an academy like West Point or Annapolis. The system has proved most admirable for the army and navy, and ought to be equally good for another technical occupation. It has shown itself in harmony with our institutions. It gives sufficient play to the American love of patronage, by the mode of selecting the candidates for admission, while it produces a service strongly imbued with the best professional traditions. West Point and Annapolis have been both popular and efficient, and good sense would suggest an extension of the principle.

That the colonial administration ought to be independent of party politics in America, that the governor-general of the Philippines ought not to be a party hack who is not big enough for a position in the Cabinet, needs no demonstration. In fact the success of England as a colonial power dates from the time when the administration of her colonies was divorced from party struggles in Parliament. It is no less evident that the governor-general ought to be advised by a council drawn from the wisest officials in his colony. There is, however, another principle which is less obvious. It is that of avoiding excessive interference from home. Lord Durham in his famous report on the government of Canada in 1839 commented severely upon this evil from which the colonies had suffered long. It is a danger that is much increased by the telegraph, and one to which the United States is peculiarly exposed. Any one familiar with the national administration must be aware how highly centralized, or as the French say concentrated, it is. The postmaster of one of our large cities can hardly get a radiator shifted or a wall painted, until permission has been obtained from Washington. Now such a state of things is utterly inconsistent with good colonial administration, for the home authorities are only dimly informed of colonial conditions, and cannot by means of any amount of dispatches, reports and cable messages be made thoroughly familiar with them. The governor on the spot must be allowed a large measure of discretion in all matters that do not involve things outside the colony. But it takes a great deal of experience to learn to leave the local officials a free hand, for the home government is easily affected by the representations of interested parties, who are able to display an amount of local knowledge that is quite overwhelming. In England, where the whole system of parliamentary government depends upon the observance of conventions and upon mutual forbearance, the difficulty is less than in America, where we are more accustomed in politics to exert our legal rights. It would seem wise, therefore, to define the authority of the governor by law, so that only matters of grave concern should be reserved for decision at home.

The employment of capable, influential natives by the government is a matter of no little consequence. It secures their loyalty, and bridges over the gap between the rulers

and the ruled. No doubt the mainstay of the administration in the Philippines must be found in the American officials, but many of the minor posts and magistracies can, as in India, be filled with natives, and a few of the most capable could probably be given seats on the governor's council. Native troops under American officers could also be employed—a proceeding that tends to make good subjects of restless spirits, and lessens the number of American soldiers that have to be kept in a tropical climate. Our negro troops will save us from maintaining the proportion of white men in the tropics that England is obliged to keep there, but still they might well be supplemented by Philipinos.

This leads naturally to the suggestion, often made of late, of governing through the native chiefs, as Great Britain has done in India and the Malay Peninsula. That such a system is advantageous wherever practicable, English experience amply proves; and indeed, it is now a maxim in India that every native state ought to be preserved with scrupulous care. To what extent the system can be applied in the Archipelago, what islands and districts bear such an allegiance to a native chief that he can maintain authority over them, is a question on which only men with a rare familiarity with the different tribes can venture an opinion. The most promising subject for experiment would seem to be the Sultan of Sulu. In the general form which the system has now reached in India the native princes can hold communication with each other, and with foreign powers, only through the Indian government. Their military forces are limited. They cannot take white men into their service without permission. They must allow the British to move troops, place garrisons and camps, and build railways and post roads in their territories. Successions to the throne are not valid until recognized by the viceroy, who can intervene in case of rebellion or gross misrule, and in extreme cases can depose the prince and appoint another. More important than all the rest the British resident accredited to the prince, watches his administration, gives him advice, and exerts a constant if unobtrusive pressure in favor of good government. The system has been especially successful where a long minority has given the resident an opportunity to educate the young prince, and administer his estates in his name until he has come of age.

The tendency on the whole has been, while exalting the dignity of the princes, to bring them more and more into harmony with the policy of the empire. The system relieves England of a load of responsibility, and at the same time removes discontent, by giving to a large part of India the satisfaction of native rule, and enabling the Hindoos under direct British government to realize how well they are treated. With the federated Malay states the connection is much closer, for although these states are spoken of as "protected" by England, they are now virtually governed directly by her agents. In the treaty of 1895 the rulers of the Malay states agreed to follow the advice of the British resident-general in all matters of administration, other than those touching the Mohammedan religion, and by this fiction he is enabled to carry on the government in their name.

It is, perhaps, needless to emphasize the importance of absolute religious toleration. We believe in it, and practice it, so fully at home that we are not likely to violate it in our dependencies. But there is another question that demands immediate and far-seeing consideration. I refer to the immigration of Chinese. As soon as order has been restored, and a measure of prosperity created, they are likely to come in great numbers; and they will be heartily welcomed by the foreign capitalists, because they supply an abundance of industrious and cheap laborers. But their presence will undoubtedly have the same results as in the Straits Settlements and Sarawak, where their superior thrift, industry and commercial aptitude has placed all the smaller trade in their hands, and thus they have prospered at the expense of the Malays, who would, it is said, massacre them all with the greatest satisfaction if the *Pax Britannica* were removed. The Chinese are utterly impervious to European civilization, regarding it simply as a protection under which they can thrive, and whether it is wise, or right toward the natives, to suffer such an element to increase in the Archipelago for the sake of their labor is at least extremely doubtful. Moreover, it will be invidious to forbid the people of our own dependency to come to our shores. The Philipinos are not fond enough of hard work to make their immigration to the United States in considerable numbers anything but a nightmare of the labor unions, but the Chinese will miss no channel for getting

here that is left unstopped. We have already prohibited Chinese immigration to Hawaii, and we must consider at once the question whether we will permit it to the Philippines.

#### PORTO RICO.

Porto Rico presents, as I have said, peculiar difficulties of its own. At first sight the problem appears simple enough. The obvious solution is to establish there a government like that of one of our territories, with a government appointed by the President, and a legislature elected by the people. This system has worked very well here; but we have tried it only as a temporary expedient, a stepping-stone to statehood. It has lasted only while the population was thinly scattered. When a territory has become settled densely enough to be a real community, with a political life of its own, it has been admitted as a state. Now Porto Rico is almost as densely peopled to-day as any part of the United States, and yet it must be clear that it cannot be admitted as a state until it has been trained in self-government, and has acquired the political, social and industrial habits that prevail in the United States. That this will take a very great length of time every observer of political history will recognize. In short, the period is so long that statehood is too remote to be taken into consideration in determining the immediate administration of the island.

As a permanent method of colonial government, or one that is intended to last for any great length of time, the system of a governor appointed by the mother country and a legislature elected by the colony is open to grave objections. Continual struggles between these two authorities are almost inevitable, for the legislature naturally wants to have its way, and where it is thwarted by the governor it learns to look upon him as the representative of an alien if not a hostile power; and yet the governor must sometimes check the legislature unless the colony is to be given virtual independence. The system tends, therefore, to promote friction instead of the mutual sympathy that ought to exist between the parent state and the colony. England tried it, and after many bitter experiences, was forced to discard it. She tried it with her North American colonies, and the consequences were constant bickerings, until the Revolution cut the connection altogether. She tried it in Canada with

similar results, which culminated in the rebellion of 1837. The remedy in this case was found in the granting of responsible government, that is, in placing the governor-general in a position like that of the Queen, and transferring the real exercise of his powers to ministers responsible to the popular chamber of the colony. Except for foreign relations Canada thus became independent in almost everything but name. Finally England tried it in the case of Jamaica, and the contests with the legislature that ensued were not terminated until the people of the island, terrified by the insurrection of the negroes in 1865, voluntarily gave up their constitution, and the elected legislature was replaced by one appointed by the Crown. Warned by these experiences, England changed her policy, and granted responsible government as fast as possible to all her colonies where men of English race were numerous. She even pressed it upon Australia and the Cape before they were anxious to receive it. All the North American and Australian colonies and Cape Colony and Natal have now full responsible government; while of the other dependencies that have any representative element in their constitution, only three, Bermuda, the Bahamas and Barbados, have a purely elective legislative chamber, and these three are small and peculiarly situated. In all the rest (Jamaica, Guiana, the Leeward Islands, Mauritius, Cyprus and Malta) the legislative council is partly elected and partly appointed, usually in such proportions that the appointed members form at least one-half of the body. England has learned not to create an elective legislature unless she is prepared to go farther in a short time and grant to the colony complete control of its affairs, and thus a distinction has arisen, which tends to become sharper and sharper, between Crown colonies and self-governing colonies.

If this is true of colonies whose people are of English race, emigrants from the United Kingdom, it must be manifestly far more true where the population of the colony differs from the bulk of that of the parent, or rather adopting, state by race, by religion, and by political traditions. Yet that is the case in Porto Rico. The nearest parallel to the condition that confronts us there is to be found in the history of French Canada, and the most valuable study of the problems it presents is the report of Lord Durham,

made after the rebellion of 1837. This document, to which I have already referred, pointed out forcibly the evils that had flowed from placing side by side an elected legislature and a governor with real authority, and it urged the necessity of establishing responsible government in the colony. Although Canada had then been under English rule for about eighty years, and had had an elective assembly for nearly half a century, the training of the French Canadians in self-government would hardly have been enough to make the remedy suggested practicable had it not been for the vast tracts of waste land which brought a great influx of English settlers. In fact the province of Upper Canada, which was united with the French province by the act of 1840, was entirely English. Now the people of Porto Rico are not very much less lacking in political experience than the French Canadians were at the capture of Quebec, and there is no vacant territory into which Americans can move in great numbers. Hence responsible government in the English sense cannot safely be set up for a long time to come, and the island must first undergo a period of apprenticeship. Moreover, our own people are quite unfamiliar with the conceptions that underlie the principles of responsible government, and they would fail to understand the position of a governor who, on the ground that his legal powers were in the safe keeping of a colonial cabinet, sanctioned unwise and unjust laws, or a hostile tariff, enacted by the colonial legislature. If the governor is to exert no real authority it would probably be wiser to cast the island adrift, providing only that it should hold no communication with the outside world save through the President of the United States. This would, no doubt, involve complications with foreign powers, but at least it would be a system that our people could comprehend. The island would then be a protected state and not a dependency. It would be a Spanish-American republic whose foreign relations alone would be under the guardianship of the United States. Perhaps this would be the most prudent relation for us to hold with the island, and a great deal could be said on both sides of that question.

Assuming, however, as the title of this discussion indicates, that Porto Rico is to remain a dependency of this country, it would seem that an elected assembly with

general legislative powers cannot wisely be established. If that is true, two courses are open to us. An elected assembly with strictly limited powers may be created, other matters being reserved for the governor and an appointed council; or the English example may be followed of vesting general legislative powers in a body composed partly of appointed and partly of elected members, the latter, say a dozen in number, being perhaps chosen by the seven provinces. The second plan, at least at the outset, would probably be the safer with a people unused to constitutional limitations. But in any event the appointed members of the governor's council ought to be selected from residents, and as far as possible, from natives of the island. By this process, jealousy of foreign rule could be minimized, for the mere fact that the chief officials were appointed ought not to be seriously obnoxious to the inhabitants, who are not accustomed to any other method of selection.

I am aware that the powers entrusted to the governor and council may be abused, although the danger is surely no greater than in the case of a popular assembly elected by a people unused to self-government. But I do not think we need to fear a repetition of the carpet-bag rule. That was made possible only by the disorganized and distracted state of the south; and by the sudden enfranchisement of an enormous mass of untrained voters, at a time when the North distrusted every Southerner who had the slightest experience of public affairs. It may be observed, also, that where the political conditions are such as to permit the existence of carpet-bag rule, the presence of an elected assembly tends rather to aggravate than to remove the evil; and further, that if we appoint governors of the carpet-bag type, they will wreck any system of government that can be devised.

The development of local self-government is a matter of the highest importance, for it is the foundation of true political liberty. Capacity for popular government cannot be created by edict. It must be acquired by slow experience, and efforts to produce it suddenly have usually been disastrous. It requires the gradual training of large numbers of men to the conduct of public affairs on a small scale; and not less a strong reverence for the authority of law, as distinguished from the commands of men. Hence it must begin with local government administered under strict rules

of law. Lord Durham remarked the defective municipal organization of Canada, and laid stress in his report upon the necessity of improving it. We ought to foster by every means in our power the management of local affairs in Porto Rico by the people themselves, and in doing so it would be well to follow as nearly as possible the existing forms and institutions, filling them with a more vigorous spirit. It may be necessary at first to appoint the *alcalde*, or mayor, but he should be selected from among the leading citizens of the commune, and should be assisted by a council elected on some qualification based on property or education, which will insure that the electorate shall not be an ignorant and credulous mass of voters. The franchise could easily be so arranged that it should gradually expand automatically as prosperity and education increased. The general principles of local self-government once fixed, their application will no doubt be tentative for some time to come, and it is certainly presumptuous for anyone unfamiliar with life on the island to attempt to talk about details.

A permanent civil service is essential in Porto Rico as well as in the Philippines, although it would have a somewhat different character. In the Philippines we must depend in the main on American officials, while in Porto Rico the service ought, after the first few years, to be recruited almost exclusively from the natives. The reason why the spoils system has not proved even more intolerable in the United States must be sought in the extraordinary versatility of the American, and in the general diffusion of education. But these qualities are wanting in the inhabitants of Porto Rico, and therefore if we are to have the support of an efficient administrative force, we must have a permanent and well-trained civil service. The United States cannot afford to throw away any chances in the difficult and untried task before it.

The judicial system is perhaps the most important point of all. If the people of Porto Rico are to acquire our political ideas and traditions it must be chiefly by means of the courts of law, for the relation of the courts to the administrative officials and to the citizens is the fundamental point of difference between the Anglo-Saxon system of government and that of the Latin races. It is the force that prevents the government from being autocratic, that makes it a government of laws and not of men. Porto Rico can never

obtain our political system unless she first becomes thoroughly familiar with our judicial conceptions. I do not mean that the substantive law needs to be changed. On the contrary, some branches of the law must obviously be retained, and nothing would be gained by changing most of the others. To change the law of land is oppressive, while commercial law, the law of contracts and so forth, are very much alike over the whole civilized world. England had to decide the same question when she conquered Canada, and after an unfortunate effort to introduce the common law, she determined, in the Quebec Act of 1774, to substitute the English criminal law as being milder than the French at that time, but to leave the Canadian law in other respects untouched. Porto Rico has now the civil law, and it had better not be disturbed except so far as it may be amended in detail from time to time by legislation. There is no difficulty in administering the civil law by means of the American judicial system. The common law has always recognized the binding force of local customs, and there has never been any trouble in the case of Louisiana, which still retains the civil law as the basis of her jurisprudence. Incidentally the maintenance of the existing law would avoid any question about juries in civil suits,—if the provision about jury trial in the Constitution applies to Porto Rico at all,—because in civil cases the provision extends only to suits at common law. It does not apply to equity causes or to litigation under the civil law.

The important thing is that the organization and authority of the American courts should be planted in Porto Rico, together with the method of procedure and the rules of evidence. The best judicial organization would probably be that under which the common law was successfully built up; local courts with a limited jurisdiction, and a central court for the whole island, which should hear appeals in bank, and whose members should go on circuit through the several provinces. They could be assisted in ascertaining the facts in any case by local assessors or the local magistrates. No system better adapted for maintaining the dignity of the courts and the authority of the law has ever been devised. It would appear wise also to allow appeals in certain cases to the Supreme Court at Washington, although such appeals would not be numerous. England has always permitted an appeal from her colonial courts to the Judicial

Committee of the Privy Council, which is to-day virtually the same court as the House of Lords, the highest tribunal of the United Kingdom. Such an appeal is useful in many ways. It tends to unify the law, and to preserve the authority of the parent state without the irritation that might be provoked by action of the executive department. Moreover, it acts as a restraint on all public bodies and functionaries in the colony to know that the legality of their acts is liable to be called in question before a paramount power, the greatest tribunal of the parent state.

A potent force in fostering the affection of the people of Porto Rico for the United States might be found in the army and the navy. Not only might the natives of the island be recruited into the ranks, but a certain number of promising young men might receive Presidential appointments year by year to West Point and Annapolis, just as commissions in the British army are now reserved for young colonials. There is certainly nothing that stimulates loyalty to a flag so much as serving under it.

The regulation of the grant of concessions or franchises will be a thorny problem in both our dependencies, for the danger of abuse is exceeding great. England encountered the same question in the form of the disposition of crown lands in the colonies; and we know a little about it ourselves from some trifling experiences at home. The only safeguard we have yet discovered is to provide that such grants shall not be made by special acts, but by general law alone; and although that principle cannot be strictly applied to the gigantic corporations bred by economy of operation in a huge country, it can probably be applied in our new possessions for many years to come.

One more suggestion before closing, for suggestions are singularly easy to make when one has no responsibility for carrying them out. There would seem to be no motive for haste in creating civil governments either for Porto Rico or the Philippines. The military rule in Porto Rico appears to be proceeding smoothly, and in the Archipelago civil government cannot be established until order is restored. There are certainly cases where it is more important to act right than to act quickly.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF TROPICAL COLONIES.

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It is a curious instance of the mutability of human affairs that three years ago the United States should have practically threatened war against England on account of an alleged attempt on the part of the latter to extend the boundaries of one of her colonies and that to-day the United States should be taking heart of grace in her colonial ventures from England's colonial successes. I mention this merely to show how entirely foreign to the American mind was any idea of territorial expansion a couple of years ago. Perhaps there could be named no subject on which the people at large in this country possess so little information as the government of dependencies; nothing could be more natural. It could never have been contemplated that the government of dependencies would ever be a problem which the people of the United States would be called on to face. Since it became evident that the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico would have to be governed by American administration a vast amount of rubbish has appeared in the newspapers of the country in reference to the nature of the problem thus suddenly arising out of the success of American arms. Articles have appeared in even the more respectable journals in reference to the colonial system of England which contained inaccuracies which would be severely punished in an English schoolboy of fourteen years of age. It has become common to refer to England's colonial empire as though it consisted of a number of homogeneous parts which in the main present to the sovereign state problems of a similar nature. Nothing could be farther from the facts, and I am inclined to think that before any good work can be done in the direction of educating public sentiment in regard to the government of Porto Rico and the Philippines the fact must be clearly established that the government of tropical dependencies is a very different question from the government of states or dependencies outside the tropics. In a tropical climate the conditions of life are so different from any that can be found in northern countries that the experience of home government forms a poor guide for colonial adminis-

tration. In Europe and in North America the task of government is made comparatively easy from the fact that the general tendency of the majority of the people is in the direction of progress, industry, social improvement, morality and good order; and every act of the government which does not injuriously affect any of these factors meets with the approval and active support of the masses. In tropical climates, on the other hand, the aims of the government find but little encouragement amongst the masses. The population contains but a small element of that material which is necessary for progressive development, and color prejudice forms an insuperable barrier to the social advancement of that small minority of the colored race which succeeds in attaining positions of honorable independence. By far the greater number of individuals in tropical countries are without any ambition to do more than secure the necessities of life, and the ease with which this ambition is satisfied contributes in no small degree to the idleness and indifference which is the marked characteristic of the population. A short residence in a tropical colony serves to convince most persons of the governing class of the utter hopelessness of effecting any material change in the natural disposition of the natives, and whether such conviction is based on insufficient grounds or not, the result is the same, and each successive generation of reformers faces the situation with an amazing confidence for a while and then wraps itself up in a garment of indifference, stifling any inconvenient pricks of conscience with the assurance that the time is not yet ripe for the wholesale regeneration of humanity. Thus it happens that the new governor, the new colonial secretary, the new administrator, be he never so bemedaled for worthiness in past service at home, sends to his government the same discouraging tale of a people possessing indeed some virtues of the lesser kind, but lost to all desire for progress and content to live a life in which no disturbing thought of rising above the common level intrudes on the soothing monotony of existence. No one who has spent any considerable time in the tropics can have failed to observe that where any degree of prosperity has been reached, where any approach to sanitary conditions exists, where, in fact, any indication of progress is in evidence, these things have been achieved not by means of but in spite of the mass of the people. That in some parts of

the tropics this may be due in some degree to the evil effects of slavery constitutes a satisfactory excuse for those conditions, the existence of which is not in any way affected by a consideration of their origin. When measured by the commercial standard the difference between tropical and non-tropical colonies becomes most strikingly apparent. Thus taking England's tropical and non-tropical colonies I find that during the past five years the non-tropical colonies, Australia, Canada and Newfoundland, imported British produce to the value of \$15.34 per head of their population, whilst the tropical colonies imported British goods to the value of only fifty-six cents per head. Again, the non-tropical colonies exported to England produce to the value of \$22.88 per head and the tropical colonies produce to the value of sixty cents a head. During the past twelve years I have spent most of my time in the British colonies. I was for seven years in the West Indies and visited India and several of the French and Dutch tropical colonies. My observations during the past twelve years have led me to form opinions in regard to the tropics which are likely to be very unpopular in this country. I claim no authority for my opinions. If the conclusions at which I have arrived are wrong I can only say that they are the outcome of careful and unprejudiced investigation. I may say then that I do not believe that the inhabitants of the tropics will ever be capable of self-government in the sense which is usually attached to that expression. Is there at the present day to be found anywhere in the tropics a country which is showing itself capable of self-government? I might go farther and ask has there ever been any country in the tropics which has shown itself capable of self-government? It is true that in Peru at the time of the Incas there was a government which maintained discipline and order amongst the people of that country, but the government was autocratic and did not lay with the people, and excellent as the results of the system were in many respects, they have been very generally condemned by writers because they did not proceed from self-government, but from a perfect form of despotism. Now if we glance at India as it is to-day we see a spectacle of three hundred million people governed by thirty thousand British officials. There has been a great clamor in favor of India for the Indians. It is claimed and with great justice that the Hindoos, who have been educated according

to western notions, have shown themselves capable of entering all the professions with the greatest credit to themselves in their examinations. I am free to admit that I have never met amongst other races men who have shown such an exquisite subtlety of intellect, such an extraordinary aptitude for learning, as some Hindoos whom I have known, but unfortunately subtlety of intellect does not help people toward self-government. It is a very common error to suppose that administrative capacity goes hand in hand with intellectual attainment. You may take a native official in India and as long as things run smoothly he will amaze you by the cleverness and ingenuity of his annual report; compared with it the unvarnished statements of his English brother official will appear as the crude production of a schoolboy. But send a flood, send a famine, devastate his territory with disease and what do you find, an absolute incapacity for action. Then it is that the administrative ability of the Englishman steps in and saves the country from disaster. What is wanted in the government of colonies is extreme energy and determination and these qualities are not found in the make-up of the oriental races. If we turn now to the negro in the tropics we find a still worse condition of affairs. In the British West Indies, where the negro is treated better than in any other part of the world, we find the negro voters sending negroes into the legislative assemblies—in some of these colonies the negro or colored men outnumber the white persons. For more than a year I attended all the meetings of the legislative assembly in such a colony. I listened hour upon hour to the speeches of these negro legislators. I found many of them excellent speakers and keen debaters, but I found also that they were entirely unfit for legislative duties. They seemed to be possessed of no sense of proportion, no sense of responsibility; they were apparently governed almost entirely by their emotions. It would appear as though the British colonial office held similar views to those which I have expressed, for within the past year two islands, Dominica and Tobago, have been deprived of their representative institutions; the former has been converted into a crown colony and the latter has been made a ward of Trinidad. Those who are best informed in the West Indies tell me that it is contemplated to make considerable changes in the near future in the government of the British West Indian colonies. Now it is often urged that the reason why the

negro in the tropics has not shown himself capable of self-government is because he has not had time. If we take the case of the chief negro republic, Hayti, it would certainly appear that they have not had time, for it is beyond doubt a fact that cannibalism prevails to a considerable extent in the republic. Sir Spencer St. John in his book on Hayti, published in 1884, places the matter altogether beyond question and during a visit I paid to the island in 1893 I saw sufficient to convince me that the abominable practice still existed, but, as a matter of fact, the negroes have had just as much time to develop a civilization and to evolve a satisfactory form of government as the white man. There were negroes in Africa when Cæsar landed on British soil and since that time the people of Britain have made themselves what they are to-day whilst the negro in Africa remains substantially what he was. The reason why the negro has made no progress is that a tropical climate does not place a man under any necessity to exert himself, and there is no reason to suppose that the climatic influence of the tropics will be less powerful in the next thousand years than it has been in the past thousand years. I am inclined to think that so long as theorists will maintain that political and ethical principles have an universal applicability, so long will all attempts at civilizing the tropics end in grievous disappointment. I will not go so far as to say that the faculty of governing the tropics lies wholly with the Anglo-Saxon race but I am firmly of the opinion that without the strong hand of the man of the north to hold things together the tropics will never advance beyond the point which has been reached by the central American republics. James Anthony Froude has, to my mind, expressed the whole question of the government of tropical dependencies in the following lines, taken from his "English in the West Indies": "The leading of the wise few, the willing obedience of the many, is the beginning and end of all right action. Secure this, and you secure everything. Fail to secure it, and, be your liberties as wide as you can make them, no success is possible."

## DISCUSSION.

DR. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, *Philadelphia.*

The discussion to which we have listened for three hours, has covered all three phases of this subject, constitutional, administrative and industrial, with a complete ability. We may fitly congratulate the Academy upon its series of papers, which face this national issue with confidence, accept its responsibilities without hesitation and see in our laws, our government and our citizenship the material for its successful solution.

The burden of utterance has been in favor of the constitutional power of the government to discharge all the duties before it in the administration of dependencies. This was also the case in the debate in Congress. While Professor Woolsey and Professor Huffcut confine themselves to this aspect, Professor Lowell has dealt in a strain as encouraging with the administrative necessities of the case, and the solitary doubt as to the future is raised by Mr. Ireland in his assertion, which I will take up later, that contract laws are indispensable in dealing with labor in the tropics.

The constitutional argument advanced by both Professor Woolsey and Professor Huffcut has become familiar during the last six months. They differ, one in believing that it will be necessary to adjust constitutional guarantees in some shape, and the other in asserting that they do not extend over territory newly acquired. I do not propose here and now to review this constitutional discussion, but I desire to draw attention to a phase of this branch of our subject, to which neither has alluded. In guessing on the future decisions of the Supreme Court, it has generally proved wiser to trust to the trend of its past history than to our analysis of its probable reasons for a future decision. For a century, since its early decisions first struck out the path, the Supreme Court, with the exception of the solitary decision in the Dred Scott case has never found a national need without discovering a national power. This has been the basis of its steady extension of the powers of the "federal agency" into the prerogatives of a nation possessing all the powers required in the external discharge of its duties in the field of international law. In deciding internal questions the pendulum of the Supreme Court has swung from one extreme to the other, but in deciding those questions created by the external relations of the United States, ending in the luminous decisions in Ross' case, quoted by Professor Huffcut (140 U. S.

453), the Supreme Court has always found whatever power it was necessary for the United States to have to act in its sovereign capacity. I need not review these cases. They have decided the right to acquire territory, to determine its government, to govern territory conquered, but not annexed, to enforce treaties, to exclude aliens in time of peace and to discharge, even to the execution and imprisonment of American citizens, the civil and criminal jurisdictions of ex-territorial law in Oriental countries. With this clear ascending curve running through a century, it is no great stretch of either imagination or calculation to assume that the Supreme Court will reach a precisely similar conclusion when it is called upon to decide whether the nation organized by the constitution can exercise the ordinary national powers of other nations in dealing with annexed territory.

The precise letter of the constitution of course, blocks the way, as Professor Woolsey has pointed out. Through it, Professor Huffcut has driven his ingenious tunnel, but the provision in regard to jury duty is in the same article with the provision in regard to judges holding for good behavior, and if Congress can establish courts which can legally condemn a man when the judge only holds for a term of years in our territories, it could by parity of reasoning eliminate the jury. Nor is this all. The United States has had three successive classes of territory acquired, first from cession by states to the United States, under conditions which the Supreme Court has recognized as limiting congressional action, second by the cession of foreign countries under treaties which stipulated that in the new acquisitions, the citizens of the ceding nation should enjoy the privileges of the citizens of the nation accepting the cession, which Justice Marshall held the sole basis of civil rights. Third, our present acquisitions which are ceded without this provision and in which by implication these rights are not conferred by annexation. There is here a steady sequence whose march and progress the Supreme Court sought to interrupt in the Dred Scott decision, but in which the arbitrament of events proved more powerful than the logic of Taney. The absence of this treaty clause in our last acquisitions under the reasoning of Marshall vitally changes the situation, and while it does not alter the power of Congress to legislate, it changes the environment under which it acts.

Any confusion on this subject arises from failing to discriminate between the limits of sovereignty and constitutional jurisdiction. The decisions in the California cases to which Professor Huffcut alluded (*Cross v. Harrison*, 16 Howard, 164) do not base the right to levy taxes on the war power, but the absence of constitutional reason

for interference with these taxes on the fact that Congress had not yet legislated so as to extend the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States, its treaties and its constitution. Sovereignty and jurisdiction may be coterminous. Either may exist where the other is absent. The sovereignty of the United States sentenced in Japan to death and provided for the imprisonment of Ross for life in Albany, a stronger case than the finding in Japan because the sentence had to be executed within our constitutional limits, but no one will pretend that the constitutional jurisdiction of the United States applied in either case because if it had a jury would have been necessary, and the Supreme Court wisely found the authority for dealing with the life and liberty of an American citizen, not in any special grant of power to Congress, but in the necessity for the exercise of the international powers of an independent sovereignty. A long series of decisions show that the executive sovereignty of the English crown attaches at the instant of conquest, but the judicial jurisdiction of the English crown only begins after an order in council has extended it. The sovereignty of the United States extends over an Indian tribe; but its members are not within the constitutional jurisdiction of the United States and the right of Congress to regulate the manner in which the local powers of such a tribe shall be exercised does not render such local powers Federal powers, arising from and created by the Constitution of the United States. (*Tatton v. Mayer*, 163 U. S. 376.) By discovery the sovereignty of the United States extended over the Guano Islands which our citizens occupy, but the jurisdiction of the United States is only established there by act, and if Congress instead of making *Navassa* a ship as it did by section 5516 R. S. had given its governor power of life and death the grant would have rested on as complete constitutional power in one case as in the other. National sovereignty exists complete, unchallenged and unquestioned over the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico. The authority now exercised there is ordinarily spoken of as the war power of the President, but it is also the necessary exercise, as the Supreme Court pointed out in the case already cited, of that authority which attaches to a sovereignty that acquires territory, an authority which is not provided for in the constitution, but which exists as a logical deduction from the fact that the constitution created a sovereignty with complete national powers for international purposes.

The constitution created a constitutional jurisdiction within certain definite limits, to wit, the states which formed the union. It also created a nation with the usual international powers needed and demanded by an independent nation, recognized and acting as such under the law of nations. To both of these propositions all agree.

When this national sovereignty acts within the sphere of constitutional jurisdiction, it is limited by constitutional provisions. When as a national sovereignty, it acts within the international field, it has whatever powers are needed for its work as such, a principle established by a long series of decisions. (*Pong Yue Ting v. U. S.* 149, U. S. 712). Sovereignty is exercised over conquered territory under no specific constitutional power, but as part of the rights inherent in the international nation created by the constitution. Legislation, by treaty or statute (*American Insurance Co. v. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511), decides when the constitutional jurisdiction shall be coterminous with this national sovereignty, and until some legislation, treaty or statute decides this political question, the judicial power of the United States does not attach (*Jecker v. Montgomery*, 13 Howard, 498); unless Congress legislates otherwise, the "belligerent rights of a conqueror" remaining complete until this time (16 Howard, 164). Sovereignty, in short, moves with the international acts of the nation. Constitutional jurisdiction travels with the municipal law of the United States, and is created by a treaty because it is part of that law. Nor does any decision, not even that cited referring to the District of Columbia, traverse this distinction, for the simple reason, if no other, that a treaty annexing territory without conferring civil rights—that is, extending constitutional jurisdiction in greater or less degree—has never yet been before our courts. I submit, therefore, that in dealing with territory thus annexed, there may be found a power wider than that simply "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting territory, and other property," to wit, that broader national power which permits annexation itself, though the constitution makes no provision for the act and under which power a long series of statutes have been passed and even juryless courts created as part of national sovereignty, and not part of our municipal constitutional jurisdiction.

In dealing with the administration of dependencies, Professor Lowell has laid stress, as is indeed fit, on the trained and organized character of the English colonial service. But the precise force and efficacy of the English colonial administration is and always has attached to the absence of this requirement in its higher parts. It is the combination of a trained force headed and controlled by men chosen from the general political life of the realm and for political service which gives the English colonial service practical efficiency. A pure bureaucracy, a trained and examined colonial service, exclusively applied to colonial administration ends where the German colonial service, which is of this character, has always ended, in the perpetual broils and the perpetual blunders of the "competition wallah," if he has not some one over him selected by the competition of life and

not of examination. Ultimate power in India rests with the governor-general and governors of the presidencies, men selected from active English political life, and for these posts a Conservative government, selects Conservatives and a Liberal administration, Liberals. Sir Alfred Milner, the ablest figure to-day in English colonial administration, was a dozen years ago a mere journalist and has never gone through the competition mill. Of the seven Australian governors last year only two had ever had political training. The rest had been, one a gentleman in waiting, another groom of the chambers, another "Verderer of Epping Forest"—an ancient office doubtless, but whose direct training for colonial administration must be admitted to be slender by the few, even in this audience, who can define its duties. A successful explorer, like Thomson, a good regimental officer, some journalist or barrister with a genius for management, a man successful in English politics—these have made half the good colonial governors, aided and supported by a trained force selected by competition as their administrative tools.

Nor are Anglo-Indian salaries what they were. The very place Macaulay took to accumulate a competence, can to-day be held only by a man with a private fortune to bridge the gap between the salary paid and the level of expenditure demanded by the post.

Mr. Alleyne Ireland speaks the undoubted conviction of all Englishmen in deeming contract labor laws necessary in the tropics. I may be pardoned if I remember that every English paper teemed with this advice thirty-three years ago, in behalf of the cotton crop. We were assured—Who does not remember it?—that without contract laws the negro would not work and the cotton crop cease. Our largest crop then had been 3,000,000 bales. Free labor has quadrupled the yield. There are two ways of making a man work—by pressure from above, disguised slavery—or by stimulus from within, the higher wages of a highly organized, free, industrial system. The last, the tropics have never yet had. Jamaica and the other English tropical West Indian Islands are the dissevered fragments of a continent from whose industrial activity they have been separated. Give the stimulus of a market and of high wages and all men will work. Deprive them of either and contract labor laws are needed. The American may yet solve the tropical industrial problem as he has quadrupled the cotton crop in face of all the arguments marshaled by Mr. Ireland, all made thirty-three years ago, not by laws making it harder for a man to be idle but by an industrial system making it more profitable for a man to labor.

Professor L. S. ROWE, *University of Pennsylvania.*

It is no small task to add anything to the admirable addresses we have heard this afternoon. In them we find exhausted the possibilities of political organization in the management of dependencies, as well as the constitutional difficulties that we are likely to encounter. Upon these two questions—of political organization and constitutional interpretation—I wish to say a few words.

I have not the slightest doubt, that so far as the organization of government in our new dependencies is concerned, we shall be able—whether in Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines—to adapt our standards to the needs and possibilities of the inhabitants of the islands. Arguing from precedent, there is reason to believe that our government will be too despotic rather than too free. It is a mistake to suppose that the extension of American rule means equality of political rights. Throughout our history the principle for which we have stood above all others is the maintenance of order and security. To this end we are prepared to subordinate all other political ideals and principles.

The real difficulties which we will encounter in the government of our new possessions, difficulties which are as yet new to us, lie in the field of the private rather than in that of the public law. In other words, while we shall in all likelihood be able to develop a governmental organization strong enough to meet any emergency, there is grave danger that by suddenly undermining customs, traditions and systems of law which do not conform to the principles of the common law, we shall destroy the fabric of social organization in the new territories. Incomplete and inadequate as such social organization may be, it is the first step in orderly, progressive development. To destroy it is to invite disintegration and decay. This danger is evidently very much greater in the Philippines than in either Cuba or Porto Rico. In the latter our first and most important mission is to reorganize the judicial system and the administration of law rather than its form. In certain departments of legal procedure—particularly that of land transfer—glaring abuses must be corrected. The only immediate change necessary in the substantive law however is to make it definite. We cannot afford to permit our Governor-General to indulge in the arbitrary interference with the form of law and administration of justice which characterized the rule of his Spanish predecessor. Under our rule, Cubans and Porto Ricans must be assured of equality before the law not only as between themselves, but also as against the public authorities. This does not mean that we must sweep away all local customary law and establish the code

of the civil law throughout the islands, thus sacrificing efficiency to uniformity. If we will but keep in mind how easily the legal fibre of a people is undermined, how gradually permanent changes in legal standards are effected, we shall be spared many humiliating failures.

Our policy in Cuba and Porto Rico is comparatively simple when compared with the difficulties which we shall encounter in the Philippines. We shall there require a combination of firmness and forbearance which no nation has as yet shown in its dealings with inferior races. For it must be remembered that it was only after a series of bitter lessons that England acquired the first rudimentary notions as to the proper method of dealing with half-civilized peoples. In the Philippines we shall have to deal with almost every conceivable form of primitive institution, from the patriarchal family to the most pronounced theocracy. However their system may violate our legal standards, we must remember that it cannot be suddenly changed without setting the population adrift toward anarchy and rebellion. For a long time we may have to tolerate institutions that may seem undesirable, even unjust to our eyes, and yet which are absolutely necessary to maintain the cohesion of the present social system. Law of some kind is better than no law at all. If we endeavor suddenly to inject American ideas into Malay tribal relations, disintegration and disorder are certain to result. The most that we can hope to do at present is to prevent the more violent forms of tribal or individual aggression, to establish an equitable system of taxation and then allow the civilizing influence of industrial reorganization to pave the way for improvement in property and other legal relations. As Mr. Lowell has well said, we shall probably make many blunders, but it is asking too much to expect an easy solution to so complex and delicate a problem.

A word before closing, on the vexed question of constitutional interpretation. In this respect I am inclined to take quite a different view of the situation from that outlined by Professor Woolsey. If instead of analyzing the letter of constitutional interpretation, we stop to examine its spirit, we find one cardinal principle guiding the court, viz., to avoid as far as possible any interference with the political organs of the government on broad questions of public policy. In order to carry out this principle we find the court resorting to legal fictions, as for instance in *Fleming v. Page*,\* and *Hamilton v. Dillin*.†

I am fully aware that this proposition in the general form may give rise to some misunderstanding. Is it not the function of the judiciary,

\* 9 Howard, 603.

† 21 Wallace, 73.

ary, it will be asked, to safeguard the constitution and in so doing to check the action of the other organs of government? An analysis of the decisions of the Supreme Court will show that while this is true, it is subject to certain definite limitations. The court has consistently refused to interfere with what it calls "the political functions of the government."

While it has given no definite meaning to the term "political functions" the end which the court has kept in view seems quite clear, viz., to refrain from interfering with the political organs of the government whenever the peace, or safety of the country is endangered or the order and security of any district menaced. It would take us far beyond the limits of this discussion to examine the instances in which this principle has been carried out. The most striking cases have arisen in periods of conflict, such as the Civil and Mexican Wars. The Reconstruction Period was particularly fruitful in this respect.\*

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This desire to avoid conflict with the political organs of government has demanded a degree of self-restraint on the part of the judiciary which has aroused the admiration of every student of politics. This self-restraint has indirectly increased the authority of the courts, for it has assured to them the respect and support of the people in those cases in which the courts have seen fit to place checks upon executive action. Traditions such as these make it seem tolerably certain that the courts will not force upon the political organs of the government a construction of the constitution which would make good government in the Philippines impossible.

But what is the nature of this construction for which Professor Woolsey contends? Because, in *Callan v. Wilson*† the court held that the framers of the constitution were anxious to secure the benefits of the common law system to the whole people and, by implication, extended the right of trial by jury to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, therefore, it is argued, this right must be extended to all the territory over which the United States may acquire dominion. This reasoning would apply to the amendments as well as to the body of the constitution. In order to avoid giving to the Filipinos the "right to keep and bear arms,"‡ and to guard against the dangers involved in guaranteeing to them the common law jury system, it is necessary to resort to a form of casuistry which can only be regarded as a subter-

\* See *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wallace, 475; *Georgia v. Stanton*, 6 Wallace, 50; also Dunning "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction." Macmillan; 1898.

† 127 U. S. 540.

‡ Amendments, Article II.

fuge. In *Cross v. Harrison*\* the court held that the President as commander-in-chief of the army might govern newly acquired territory and that such territory did not become domesticated until Congress had established a civil government. Arguing from the letter of this decision, it is held that so long as the President governs the Philippines under the provisional form of military administration, the constitutional guarantees will not attach. In other words, if this mode of interpretation be correct we are driven to the conclusion that in order to govern the Philippines efficiently we must establish irresponsible government with its attendant evil—civil government by the military arm. To preserve order and maintain liberty we must create one of the worst forms of despotism.

I dwell upon this point, for it seems to me to involve a serious menace to the orderly development of our institutions. If we must resort to such devices to "beat" the constitution, it will not be long before its authority will be seriously undermined. Many of those who believe that they are its staunchest supporters are in reality fostering that form of constitutional observance which abides by the letter but violates the spirit. Is it not far better consciously to face the fact that the precedents cited are precedents in form rather than in substance? A precedent is "a decision precisely, exactly or directly, in point,"† or a case, of which the "facts cannot be distinguished in effect from those of the present case."‡ Judged by these standards can the proposition for a moment be seriously entertained that real legal precedents exist for the constitutional questions involved in the government of the Philippines; at all events as regards the applicability of the constitutional restrictions and the constitutional guarantees? In every one of the cases cited the question before the court has been, whether the benefits of the constitutional guarantees, together with the common law system which they include, should be extended to territory contiguous to the territory of the states, settled by a people of essentially the same training and traditions. Is it not natural that with expediency and traditional policy in harmony, the Supreme Court should have followed the line of least resistance?

But now the question has arisen under totally different conditions. With a population on a lower plane of civilization, untrained to the common law—in fact, in many cases devoid of any legal system—are we blindly to follow rules of interpretation intended for essentially different application? The mere statement of the possibility is a

\* 76 Howard, 164 (193).

† 6 East, 512, Ram., "On Legal Judgment," p. 113.

‡ 3 Barn. and Ald. 56.

reflection on our political capacity as a nation. When we bear in mind the splendid traditions of forbearance and self-restraint of the judiciary, the constant desire which it has shown to remove rather than to increase the obstacles to efficient government, there is, it appears to me, but little danger that we will be forced to the unpleasant choice between inefficient government and irresponsible rule.

# Militarism and Democracy.

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Annual Address.

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## MILITARISM AND DEMOCRACY.

*The Annual Address, by the Honorable Carl Schurz.*

The subject of "Militarism and Democracy," which has been assigned to me for discussion, is at the present moment of peculiar interest. We are apt to speak boastfully of the progressive civilization characterizing this age. While the very foundation of all civilization consists in the dispensation of justice by peaceable methods between nations as well as individuals, instead of the rule of brute force, it is a singular fact that at the close of this much-vaunted nineteenth century we behold the nations of the world vying with each other in increasing their armaments on land and sea, exhausting all the resources of inventive genius and spending the treasure produced by human labor with unprecedented lavishness to develop means of destruction for the defence of their possessions, or the satisfaction of national ambitions, or the settlement of international differences, on a scale never before known.

Thus the very advances in the sciences and the arts which constitute one part of our modern civilization are pressed into the service of efforts to perfect the engineries of death, devastation and oppression, which are to make brute force in our days more and more terrible and destructive, and to render the weak more and more helpless as against the strong. It looks as if the most civilized powers, although constantly speaking of peace, were preparing for a gigantic killing-and-demolishing match such as the most barbarous ages have hardly ever witnessed, and this at the expense of incalculable sacrifice to their peoples.

Nothing could in this respect be more instructive and pathetic than the appeal in behalf of peace and disarmament addressed last year by the Czar of Russia to all the powers represented at his court. Of that appeal this is the principal part :

“In the course of the last twenty years the longings for a general appeasement have grown especially pronounced in the consciences of civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy; it is in its name that great states have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed in proportions hitherto unprecedented their military forces and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

“All these efforts, nevertheless, have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. The financial charges following an upward march strike at the public prosperity at its very source.

“The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application, and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.

“National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the governments have set before themselves.

“The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance.”

There has been much discussion as to the motives which may have impelled the Czar to make this appeal. Many of those who consider him sincere, call the manifesto a mere

outburst of generous sentimentality which, although laudable in itself, loses sight of existing conditions and of the practical exigencies of the moment. If it really was mere generous sentimentality, it was sentimentality of that sort which in the history of mankind has not seldom served to give impulse and inspiration to great movements of progress in justice and humanity, overcoming with its optimism that dreary and pusillanimous wisdom which reasons that existing evils cannot be rectified simply because they are strongly intrenched in existing conditions. If it was that sentimentalism, it did honor to the Czar's heart, and, inasmuch as it attacks a terrible evil which eventually *must* be remedied, it did no discredit to the Czar's head.

Others have questioned the Czar's sincerity and good faith, suggesting that the peace manifesto was merely a diplomatic stratagem designed to dupe his competitors for territorial conquest. This is, in view of the solemnity of the Czar's words, so atrocious an imputation that only hardened cynicism will readily accept it. It is, however, all the more to be deplored that the Czar, at the time when the belief of the world in the sincerity of his benevolent purposes is so important, should himself endanger that belief by ruthlessly suppressing the constitutional rights and liberties of the good people of Finland, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, and which his predecessors, even so stern a despot as Nicholas I., had faithfully respected. The performance of two acts so different in character by the same person may be explained on the hypothesis, that in the one case the Czar, being sincerely alarmed by what he himself experienced of the evils and dangers of excessive armaments, could not resist the impulse of attacking them, and did so in good faith, while ordinarily, in doing the business of an autocrat, he may be no better, and in some respects even worse, than others engaged in the same trade.

But however that may be, and whatever results the peace conference meeting in response to the Czar's appeal may immediately bring forth, the most important point is that the

statements of fact contained in the Czar's manifesto are true. They are indeed not new. The same things have often been said before. But those who said them were promptly and derisively cried down as visionary dreamers who had no conception of the responsibilities involved in the management of the great business of the world. Now those things are authoritatively proclaimed by the most absolute monarch commanding the largest army on earth, and holding in his hand the destinies of one of the greatest empires—the man whose immediate responsibilities in the management of the great business of the world are not exceeded by those of any other human being.

While the so-called practical men of the age never cease to tell us that the greatest possible security of peace depends upon the greatest possible preparation for war, that autocrat and commander of millions of soldiers tells them that the nations which are draining their own vitality to preserve peace by their preparations for war, are doing a thing which, if prolonged, "will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance." Thus it is no longer merely the idle and irresponsible dreamer but the practical potentate charged with the farthest-reaching powers and the highest responsibilities who warns the world that if the policy of increasing armaments, which we call militarism, be persisted in, it must produce ruinous mischief, and end in incalculable disaster and calamity.

The comparative weight with which militarism, that is the system which makes the maintenance of great armaments one of the principal objects of the state, burdens different nations, depends upon their respective wealth, the length of the terms of military service, their administrative organization, and the nature of their political institutions. Upon nations which are unable to bear heavy loads of taxation, or whose finances are in a precarious state, or which suffer from official incapacity or corruption in their administrative organization, or which withdraw their young men

for long periods of time from productive employments without offering through the military service any valuable compensation by way of instruction or training, the burden of great standing armaments weighs of course more heavily than upon nations whose material resources are great, or which can easily raise ample revenues, or whose administrative machinery is honest and efficient, or whose terms of military service are short, or whose young men receive in that service at least some discipline, instruction and training calculated to increase their working capacity in productive pursuits, and thus to compensate in some measure for their temporary withdrawal from such occupations.

For the purposes of this discourse the workings of militarism in France are of especial interest, on account of the political institutions of that country.

In a monarchy a standing armed force is a thing congruous with the nature of the government, and it is the more so, the more the monarchy is of the absolute type. The standing army in such a monarchy may be said to be the enlarged bodyguard of the monarch. The monarch represents an authority not springing from the periodically expressed consent of the people, and relying for the maintenance of that authority, if occasion requires, upon the employment of force, even against the popular will. An army is an organization of men subject to the command of a superior will, the origin or the purpose of which it is assumed to have no right to question. The standing army is in this sense, therefore, according to its nature and spirit an essentially monarchical institution.

But France is a republic. She calls herself a democratic republic. A democratic republic is, or should be, government by public opinion as expressed in legal form—public opinion, as it issues from discussion in which all the people are free to participate, and the outcome of which they are to determine by their freely given suffrages. The army, inasmuch as it is in all things subject to the will of superior authority without discussion or question, must therefore be

regarded as an incongruous element in a democracy. The authority to which it is subject, may indeed be a government created by public opinion and supported by it. But as such a government may happen to become faithless to its origin, or fall out of accord with the public opinion of the time, the army, as an organized force subject to its will, may be used by it for ends and purposes adverse to the interests or the will of the people.

It is for reasons like this that the true democratic spirit has always been jealously opposed to the maintenance of large standing armies. It has always insisted that the organizations of armed forces that may be necessary for the enforcement of the laws and the keeping of order at home, or for the defence of the integrity or the honor of the state in foreign warfare, should remain as much as possible identified with the people themselves—should be, in fact, *of* the people in their origin, their interests, their sympathies, as well as in the character and aspirations of those commanding them; and that, if a standing army as a permanent institution be indeed indispensable for certain necessary objects, it should, in point of numerical strength, be confined to the narrowest practicable limits.

That democratic spirit has therefore always demanded that the armed force should be composed principally of the militia, the citizen soldiery,—or, in extraordinary emergencies, of volunteers called out from the ranks of the people, to serve as soldiers for certain well-defined and stated purposes, and then, those stated purposes being accomplished, to return to their civic pursuits. So it has hitherto been with us. In Switzerland, where the democratic spirit is much alive, but where on account of the geographical situation of the country a large and well-drilled force is thought necessary, they have organized the whole male population capable of bearing arms in military bodies, some of which are called out for instruction and drill for a limited period every year, to be restored to civil life after the shortest possible interruption of their ordinary occupations—the only

thing resembling a standing army being certain small staff corps which are kept in permanent service. All this rests upon the leading principle that the soldiers of a democracy as well as those commanding them should, while temporarily submitting to military discipline, remain in all essential respects active citizens without any interests, or sympathies, or aspirations in any manner or degree different from those of the general citizenship.

France furnishes the example of a republic maintaining a large standing force, and the history of that country is peculiarly instructive as to the relations between standing armies and democracies. The first French Republic sprang from the great revolution of 1789. The most famous of French armies were organized under the inspiration of the revolutionary enthusiasms of that period. They were then to a large extent composed of volunteers who had rushed to arms to defend the territory of the republic, and then went forth to bring "Liberty" to the world outside. Thus they won victory, and glory, and conquest. And then, having gone forth to fight for liberty, they proceeded, intoxicated with glory and conquest, to turn their victories for liberty to the advantage of a personal government animated with insatiable despotic ambitions. I am far from saying that the spirit of the army was the only cause for the downfall of the democratic republic. But it is a matter of history that the army, which had been created for the service of democracy, was, by the glory and the conquests it achieved, transformed into a willing and most effective instrument of usurpation and tyranny at home, and of oppression abroad. And it may be said that the Napoleonic system of government which was thus created, was the beginning of that militarism with which Europe is now afflicted.

The second French republic sprang from the revolution of 1848. It was the prestige of the name of Napoleon, the glamour of the Napoleonic legend of military glory, that made the election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of

the republic possible. Usurpation followed. I do not pretend that the spirit of the standing army alone caused the transformation of the second French republic into the second French empire. But it can certainly not be denied, that the army again lent itself as a willing tool to the schemes of the conspirators who had planned the destruction of the republic, and the erection of a monarchical government upon its ruins.

After the disastrous collapse of imperial rule in the Franco-German war, the third French republic was proclaimed in 1870. It has now lasted well-nigh twenty-nine years. But the greatest dangers that have threatened its existence came from the position in it of the standing army. One of its chiefs, MacMahon, while president of the republic, was drawn into the intrigues of the monarchist parties; another, Boulanger, plotted revolution and usurpation, probably for his own benefit; and now, in these latter days, in consequence of the hideous Dreyfus affair, the administration of justice has, in the interest of the chiefs of the army, been subjected to a perversion calculated to undermine the very foundations of legal government, and, it is to be feared, ultimately to effect the total subversion of republican institutions. The domineering spirit of the army is such that it claims to be above discussion and criticism, assumes to dictate the decisions of judicial tribunals, and actually seeks to substitute for what in other countries is the crime of *lèse-majesté*, the crime of *lèse-armée*. At any rate, whatever the future may bring, it is no exaggeration to say, that the attitude of the army in France has dealt the reputation of republican government a staggering blow, and that all this may turn out to be only a prelude to new usurpations.

It is idle to pretend that all the historical facts I have enumerated, were owing only to the proverbial inconstancy of the French temperament; for it should not be forgotten that even in England, when the parliamentary forces during the so-called Great Rebellion of the seventeenth century had assumed the character of a standing army, that army, in

spite of its origin, became in the hands of Oliver Cromwell a ready instrument for the transformation of the republic into a personal government essentially monarchical, and finally, under the leadership of Monk, served to bring about the restoration of the monarchy with all its forms and attributes by the return of the Stuarts. Thus we see that it was not a mere French peculiarity which made a strong standing army a danger to republican institutions in Europe, but that the large standing army has always played the same part in European republics, regardless of race. I need not go into the history of the republics of antiquity, modern instances being sufficiently instructive.

As I remarked, militarism on a great scale began in Europe with the French revolution and attained a high degree of development under the first Napoleon. It declined somewhat under the influence of the reaction which was caused by the general state of exhaustion after the Napoleonic wars. It revived again after the revolutionary movements of 1848 when the new French Emperor sought to fortify his throne by warlike prestige, when Italy and Germany moved for the accomplishment and maintenance of national unity, when continental powers, following the example of England, became ambitious of colonial expansion, and when new inventions in the appliances of warfare stimulated the powers in a course of nervous rivalry. It is thus that the deplorable conditions came about which are so pointedly set forth in the peace manifesto of the Russian Czar; that millions of young men at the period of their greatest vigor are withdrawn from productive pursuits; that "the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are largely diverted from their natural application and unproductively employed" in gigantic preparations for possible conflicts of arms, and that the nations are burdened with very onerous taxes for the purpose of providing engines of destruction.

For the burdens European nations are thus bearing, the advocates or apologists of the system have a ready plea of

justification. It is that the nation refusing to bear those burdens would soon be at the mercy of its ambitious and possibly hostile rivals. The Frenchman tells us that, aside from his desire to take revenge for the defeats suffered in the German war, France must strain every nerve in preparation for a possible conflict, to be reasonably secure against German aggression or British encroachment. The German reasons that, the German Empire being wedged in between France and Russia, whose sentimental alliance may on occasion be turned to hostile purposes, the fatherland must be armed to the teeth according to the latest fashion, in order to maintain the integrity of the empire, and that it must also have a strong fleet to hold its own in the race for colonial power. The Russian insists that unless his country be provided with bigger armies and navies, British, and possibly also German jealousy will become dangerous to its vital interests. The Englishman maintains that Britain must have a fleet superior to those of any probable combination against her, and also a strong fighting force on land to protect the safety of her isle and of her widespread possessions against the ill-will of other nations which would be likely to avail itself of any favorable opportunity to strike at her with effect.

And thus no sooner has one of those nations taken the slightest step to increase the numerical strength of its armaments or their efficiency in killing and destroying; no sooner has it begun to augment its battalions, or squadrons, or batteries; no sooner has it introduced a new model of musket or of cannon; no sooner has it built a warship upon a new plan promising to do better execution, than all the others with nervous anxiety will follow suit or even try to push a step further ahead. And this process must be gone through again and again, whole armies must be newly armed, and whole fleets must be rebuilt, as the crack ships of yesterday have become little better than old iron to-day. And all this, no matter what burden be put upon the backs of the people, nor how the taxpayer may groan. In fact, those governments

claim that they are not permitted under these circumstances to adapt their policy concerning their armaments to what may be their own wishes, or to what they might consider good for the welfare of their people. Their necessities in this respect are determined, not by themselves, but by the performances of their neighbors and rivals. And so the ruinous competition goes on and on without end in sight, the moloch of militarism being insatiable.

A striking example of this race of competition was recently furnished in England by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Goschen, when he asked the House of Commons to appropriate the enormous sum of £26,554,000 (\$132,770,000) for the British navy, saying that so startling an estimate had not originally been contemplated, but that it had been framed after a careful study of the programs of the other powers; that the United States, Russia, France, Japan, Italy and Germany had under construction 685,000 tons of warships, and that England was compelled to shape her action accordingly. He prayed that, "if the Czar's hopes for disarmament were not realized, those who proposed to attack the country's expenditures would not attempt to dissuade the people from bearing the taxation necessary to carry on the duties of the empire."

In France the minister of war not long ago dolefully intimated that he apprehended France had reached the end of her possibilities, not having men enough to match the increases of the much more populous German Empire. As a member of a republican government he might have said more. He might have added that a large standing army makes a monarchy more monarchical, but that it makes a democracy not more, but less democratic; that the more absolute a monarchy is, the more a large standing army will fit it, but that the more democratic a republic is, the less a large standing army will be suitable to it; that to a monarchy it may be a standing support, but that to a democracy it will be a standing danger.

So far the American people have been exempt from most

of the evils springing from this system. From the foundation of the government it has been the consistent policy of this republic, following the true democratic instinct, to adapt its armaments to its own needs, without permitting itself to be drawn into the vortex of rivalry with other nations. As to the maintenance of peace and order at home, it has ordinarily depended upon the local police forces and the militia. It kept a small standing army stationed at a few military depots, a few coast defence fortifications, or at posts in the Indian country. It kept a small navy just sufficient for an occasional showing of the flag in foreign waters and for doing its part of the police of the seas. Whenever an extraordinary emergency arose, such as a war with a foreign power, or an insurrection of formidable proportions at home, it organized armed forces on a larger scale by calling out volunteers who were enlisted in the service of the republic, not as a regular standing army is, for doing whatever task might turn up, but for a well-defined, specific purpose, to be disbanded again as soon as that specific purpose was accomplished.

So it was held on the notable occasions of the war of 1812, of our war with Mexico, and of our great civil war. And I venture to say that no nation ever presented to the world a grander, more characteristic and more inspiring spectacle than this republic did when, after the close of the civil war, hundreds of thousands of men who had been organized in great armies, as soon as their task was done, quietly dropped their guns and as good citizens went home to devote themselves to the productive work of the country—the vast armies disappearing as by magic. It was a grand spectacle, I say, grander in its way than the most splendid victories those armies had achieved. That this republic, against the misgivings entertained abroad even by our friends, proved such a thing to be possible without the slightest difficulty, was one of the finest lessons ever taught by a great democracy to mankind.

Such was our normal policy during the period between the

foundation of the republic and our days. Times of war excepted, the republic was, compared with other nations, substantially unarmed, and, considering the condition of our coast fortifications, substantially defenceless. And yet it cannot be said that, since the war of 1812, it was, in consequence of its unarmed state, at any time in serious danger of foreign aggression or of a serious denial of its rights by any foreign power. Not as if all foreign nations had been our sworn friends, eager to keep us from harm in our innocence—for there were people enough in Europe, and even in America, who disliked us and would not have been sorry to see this republic perish;—nor as if in our intercourse with foreign nations we had been over-anxious to spare other people's feelings—for the tone of our diplomacy was not always a model of politeness. No, it was because in the main we took little interest in matters which did not concern us, and because every foreign power understood that, considering our vast resources, and the compactness and substantial impregnability of our great continental stronghold, a serious conflict with the United States would mean to our antagonist a test of endurance which no European power could undergo without offering seductive opportunities to its rivals or enemies in the old world, and that therefore it was wise to avoid so hazardous an embroilment at almost any cost. This feeling became especially distinct in Europe after the unexpected display of strength the United States made in the civil war, and after the equally unexpected reconciliation between the North and the South so soon after the close of the conflict.

The American people were therefore perfectly right in their sense of security while in an unarmed condition. There was really no danger to threaten us, unless we ourselves provoked it. Even the warning which we heard now and then among ourselves, that our foreign commerce would not be safe without being protected by a larger war fleet, was groundless. For it is a matter of history that even before those demonstrations of our strength in the civil war,

when we had with our sailing ships a very large part of the carrying trade of the world, without any navy worth speaking of for its protection, our foreign commerce proved as safe as that of any other nation having ever so many guns afloat. In fact, ever since the war of 1812, we have not had a single difference with any European power that could not be settled on fair terms without our having any ready armament to enforce our will. The proof of this is in the historical fact that they were so settled. It is a matter of speculation whether they would all have been settled so peaceably if we had possessed an armed force ready and itching for a fray.

Thus the policy of this republic was in entire harmony with that democratic instinct which abhors large standing armaments, and our position among the nations of the world was singularly favorable to the maintenance of that policy. None of those anxieties arising from the possible hostility of powerful neighbors, which keep European nations in a heavily armed state, existed here. Absolutely nothing to alarm us. Neither was there any reason for apprehending that those happy conditions would change, unless we ourselves desired to change them. There has indeed, of late been much talk about the necessity of enlarging the field of our foreign commerce, and of increased armaments and even of the acquisition of foreign territory to sustain our commercial interests in foreign quarters. But while that talk was going on, our commerce was very extensively enlarging its foreign fields without big fleets and without colonies, by its own peaceful action. We simply produced, in our factories as well as on our farms, more things that other nations wanted, and we could offer them at prices with which other nations could not compete. This golden key of industrial progress and peaceful commercial methods opened to our trade many doors which seemed to be closed against it by all sorts of artificial obstructions; and this peaceful expansion of our foreign commerce went steadily on while other nations that had an overabundance

of battalions, batteries and warships, vainly struggled to keep pace with it. These are facts, undenied and undeniable.

But what will happen to us, commercially, if other nations seek by force to monopolize certain fields of trade for themselves, and in the course of that effort come to blows with one another? Then a sober and circumspect calculation of the advantages to be gained, and of the price they would cost, will probably lead to the conclusion that in such a case a strong neutral power would enjoy very favorable opportunities and in the end have the best of the bargain. And when I speak of a strong neutral power, I do not mean a neutral power so fully armed that it might at once successfully cope with any of the belligerents, but I mean a neutral power strong enough in its resources and in its position to make each belligerent extremely anxious to abstain from anything that might drive it to the other side. Such a neutral power this republic was not in its infant state during the Napoleonic wars preceding our war of 1812, when both belligerents, France as well as England, thought they could kick and cuff this republic with impunity; but such a strong neutral power this republic, with its seventy-five millions of people and its immense wealth, would be now. No belligerent would dare to disregard its neutral rights; and at the end of the fight, the combatants well exhausted, it would probably be in a fair position to exercise a very powerful influence upon the terms of settlement.

Such a policy, harmonizing with our principles as well as our traditions, safe as well as advantageous, would not oblige us to keep up large and costly armaments; and it would at the same time teach our business men to rely for profit, not upon benefits to be gained for them by force of arms, subject to the fortunes of war, but upon their own sagacity in discovering opportunities, and their own energy in using them—which in the long run will prove to be after all the only sound basis of a nation's commerce under any circumstances.

There seems to be, then, in all these respects not only no necessity, but no valid reason for our turning away from the old democratic policy and embarking in that course the pursuit of which costs European nations so dearly, and which they justify only on the ground that the constantly threatening dangers of their situation actually force them to follow it. On the contrary there would seem to be overwhelming reason for doing everything to preserve our happy exemption from such dangers and necessities, as a blessing so exceptionally great that the American people could not be too grateful for it.

But we are told that there are certain populations in distant lands to whom it is our duty to carry the blessings of liberty and civilization, and that this may require larger armies and more warships. However laudable such a purpose may be, if sincere, it behooves us as sensible men soberly to consider the consequences of the attempt. I have already spoken of the armies of revolutionary France, that went forth to fight for general liberty, and that conquered for despotism. It cannot be denied that those French armies brought to some of the peoples they overran certain beneficial reforms. But with those reforms they brought foreign rule, and most of the "liberated" peoples found foreign rule more hateful than they found the reforms beneficial; and they availed themselves of the first favorable opportunity to throw off the foreign rule of the "liberators" with great slaughter.

We may flatter ourselves that, as conquerors, we are animated with purposes much more unselfish, and we may wonder why not only in the Philippines, but even among the people of Porto Rico and of Cuba, our benevolent intentions should meet with so much sullen disfavor. The reason is simple. We bring to those populations the intended benefits in the shape of foreign rule; and of all inflictions foreign rule is to them the most odious, as under similar circumstances it would be to us. We have already seen in the Philippines the beginning—for it is a mere beginning—of

the resistance to foreign rule by one of our "liberated" peoples—a bloody game far from exhilarating. We may expect by a vigorous application of our superior killing power to beat and disperse Aguinaldo's army; but it is by no means unlikely that more insurrections against foreign rule will follow. They may be suppressed, too, but the surviving spirit of them will oblige us to keep much stronger forces on the ground than we ever anticipated, in constant apprehension of further mischief. Our rule will continue to be foreign rule then with the smell of blood on it.

Nor is it by any means impossible that the vulnerable spots thus added to our dominions—a point of weakness we so far have never had—may encourage some jealous and unfriendly foreign powers to take advantage of our embarrassments and to involve us in broils which so far we never had any reason to dread. Or the apparent necessity to protect what conquest we have made, by further conquests, or the ardor of military or naval commanders a little too anxious to serve their country with their guns, may plunge us into the most hazardous complications. Of the chances to which we shall thus be exposed in many places, the utterly absurd Samoan affair furnishes an illustration. We may assume that the greatness of our resources will enable us to issue victorious from such conflicts too. But it will not be denied—in fact, it is already conceded—that persistence in such a course will oblige us very materially to enlarge our standing armaments, and subject us more and more to those burdens which what is called "militarism" is imposing upon the groaning nations of the old world. Patriotism as well as ordinary prudence, demands us to consider what those burdens are likely to be.

In 1897 our standing army consisted of 27,500 officers and men. The appropriations for the support of that army amounted for that fiscal year, to \$23,278,000, which sum did not include expenditures for fortifications. The average cost of each man in the army was therefore about \$850. It is generally admitted that if we continue the so-called new

policy, we shall need a standing army of certainly not less than 100,000 men—probably more, perhaps a good many more. I do not pretend that the average annual cost of a soldier will under all circumstances rise or fall with the size of the army. But it will not be questioned that such average cost will be much higher when the troops are used in distant places beyond seas, especially in tropical climates, where the soldiers have to endure very unfavorable sanitary conditions. Even if there be little or no active campaigning to be done, it is certainly a moderate assumption that the service of a large part of the army beyond seas in tropical regions would raise the average cost of a soldier to \$1,000 a year. This would make an army of 100,000 men cost at least \$100,000,000, or over \$76,000,000 more than our army cost before the Spanish war. But if active campaigning is to be done, if the "mowing down" of "insurgents," fighting for their freedom and independence, lasts long and has to be carried on during the sickly season, the replenishing of the depleted ranks, the feeding of the troops, the maintenance of an effective hospital service, the restoration of destroyed war material, the transportation of reinforcements to the theatre of operations, and of the wounded or sick back to the home country, and all the multifarious things incidental to warlike action even on a small scale, would cause expenditures beyond the possibility of accurate computation.

We are not a very economical people. We are apt to become lavish and wasteful upon the slightest provocation. Even a little war will cost us much. Whether the little war with Spain, which was practically over in three months, has cost us less or more than \$500,000,000 may still be a matter of doubt. I speak here only of the cost in money. The cost in blood and misery I leave you to think of.

That, if the new policy be persisted in, our naval establishment also will have to be much enlarged, is generally admitted. How much—who can tell? Certainly, *we* can *not* tell. For it will not depend upon us how many new

battleships, and armored or unarmored cruisers, and light draft vessels, and torpedo boats, and destroyers, we shall want. It will depend upon the naval armaments our rivals and possible enemies have on the field of competition. Until recently, when we were proud, not of possessing large armaments, but of not needing any, it has afforded us much occasion for compassionate amusement to observe the almost hysterical nervousness into which old world governments were thrown when one of them began the building of new warships by which the proportion of power on the seas might be disturbed. Already we begin to feel that nervousness in our bones, and we cannot tell how many and what kind of warships we shall be obliged to have in order to maintain what is so vauntingly called our new position among the powers of the world.

Nor will any amount of new construction set the matter at rest for any certain time. We do not know when we shall have to rebuild the larger part of our fleet; for, as the Czar truthfully says in his manifesto, "the terrible engines of destruction which are to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value by some new discovery in the same field." All forecasts as to the expenditures for naval purposes which the new policy will impose upon us in the course of time, are, therefore, futile. But whatever they may be, the people will have to pay the bills.

Moreover, we have to bear a burden of which other nations know comparatively little. During the last fiscal year we paid over \$140,000,000 in pensions. More than one hundred years after the revolutionary war, more than eighty years after the war of 1812—for we still have some widows of soldiers in those wars on our pension rolls—fifty years after the Mexican war, and thirty-three years after the civil war the number of pensioners was about one million. And still they come. It is estimated that the recent Spanish war will add \$20,000,000 to our annual pension expenditure. It will probably be much more. The pension attorneys and

members of Congress looking for the soldier-vote will take care of that. But if we continue the military occupation of tropical countries there will be a constant stream of new pensioners owing to tropical diseases; and if we have any active military operations in those tropical regions, that stream will be heavy beyond calculation. And it will be without any end in sight. We must therefore look for a considerable increase of the pension charge for an incalculable period—the number of new pensioners overbalancing the number of those who in the natural course of things may be expected to drop out—that dropping out being notoriously very slow. Our annual pension expenditure now exceeds the whole cost of the great German army on the peace footing, its pension roll included. As our pension charge threatens to become, it may approach for a time the annual cost of the whole peace establishments of the empire of Germany and the kingdom of Italy combined.

Taking it all in all, assuming our standing army not to exceed 100,000 men, but a large part of it to be engaged in the tropics, and our navy to be gradually enlarged to the strength which it "must have" in order to enable this republic to play the part of a colonial power, we are sure to have, including our pension roll, an annual expenditure for army and navy purposes not only far exceeding that of any European power, but not falling very much short of two-fifths of the expenses for the same purposes of all the six great powers of Europe together—that is not far from \$400,000,000 a year. By honest and strenuous effort we have paid off the bulk of the heavy national debt left by the civil war, and we have been very proud of that achievement. We are now in the way of running up a new national debt, of which, if we go on with the new policy, nobody can foretell to what figures it will rise.

It may be said that the American people, owing to their large and ever increasing numbers and to their extraordinary resources will be much more capable than other nations, of bearing such taxation, and therefore feel it less. That is

true. But it is also true that it will yet be a painful burden upon the labor of the people, and contribute neither to their well-being nor to their contentment unless the burden, as well as the resulting benefit, be equitably distributed. To justify heavy taxes for military purposes beyond absolute necessity we should, therefore, economically speaking, show two things: (1) that the benefit derived from the employment of the money raised by such taxation will exceed the value of the money thus taken out of the pockets of the people; and (2) that such benefit will accrue to the several taxpayers, or classes of taxpayers, in substantially just proportion to their respective contributions for the purpose in view.

Thus it would in our case be necessary to prove: (1) that if we increase our taxation so many hundred millions a year for the purpose of enlarging our standing armaments to the end of establishing and maintaining our rule in the West Indies and the Philippines, the profits from the expansion of our business enterprise accomplished thereby would exceed that amount—a matter about which, to say the least, there is extremely grave doubt; and (2) that such profits from whatever increase of business there may be, will directly or indirectly redound in substantially just proportion to the people who pay the taxes—in other words that, while the taxes to sustain our foreign enterprises are levied upon the great mass of the people, the poor as well as the rich, they will redound really to the general benefit of the people, and not merely, or mainly, to the profit of a comparatively small number of capitalists who are able to take advantage, in a more or less speculative way, of the chances that may offer themselves in those distant regions. About this, too, there is exceeding grave doubt.

These are points which I have no time to elaborate here in detail; but I commend them for serious consideration to good citizens who are disposed to look before they leap; for they involve not only an economic question, but also one of justice.

Let me now pass to the institutional aspect of the case as it concerns this republic in particular. I am far from predicting that the organization and maintenance and use of large armaments will speedily bring forth in this country the same consequences which they did produce in England in Cromwell's time, and in France at the periods of the first and the second French republics. With us the "man on horseback" is not in sight. There is no danger of monarchical usurpation by a victorious general—although it is well worthy of remembrance that even here in the United States of America, at the close of the revolutionary war, at the very threshold of our history as a republic, a large part of the revolutionary army, "turned by six years of war from militia into seasoned veterans," and full of that overbearing *esprit de corps* characteristic of standing armies, urged George Washington to make himself a dictator, a monarch; that, as one of his biographers expresses it, "it was as easy for Washington to have grasped supreme power then, as it would have been for Cæsar to have taken the crown from Antony upon the Lupercal;" and that it was only George Washington's patriotic loyalty and magnificent manhood that stamped out the plot. However, usurpation of so gross a character would now be rendered infinitely more difficult, not only by the republican spirit and habits of the people, but also by our federative organization dividing so large an expanse of country into a multitude of self-governing states.

But even in such a country and among such a people it is possible to demoralize the constitutional system and to infuse a dangerous element of arbitrary power into the government without making it a monarchy in form and name. One of the most necessary conservative agencies in a democratic republic is general respect for constitutional principles, and faithful observance of constitutional forms; and nothing is more apt to undermine that respect and to foster disregard of those forms than warlike excitements, which at the same time give to the armed forces an importance and a prestige which they otherwise would not possess.

No candid observer of current events will deny that even to-day the spirit of the new policy awakened by the victories and conquests achieved in the Spanish war, and by the occurrences in the Philippines, has moved even otherwise sober-minded persons to speak of the constitutional limitations of governmental power with a levity which a year ago would have provoked serious alarm and stern rebuke. We are loudly told by the advocates of the new policy that the constitution no longer fits our present conditions and aspirations as a great and active world power, and should not be permitted to stand in our way. Those who say so forget that it is still our constitution; that while it exists, its provisions as interpreted by our highest judicial tribunal are binding upon our actions as well as upon our consciences; that they will be binding and must be observed until they are changed in the manner prescribed by the constitution itself for its amendment; and that if any power not granted by the constitution is exercised by the government or any branch of it, on the ground that the constitution ought to be changed in order to fit new conditions, or on any other ground, usurpation in the line of arbitrary government is already an accomplished fact. And if such usurpations be submitted to by the people, that acquiescence will become an incentive to further usurpations which may end in the complete wreck of constitutional government.

Such usurpations are most apt to be acquiesced in when, in time of war, they appeal to popular feeling in the name of military necessity, or of the honor of the flag, or of national glory. In a democracy acting through universal suffrage, and being the government of public opinion informed and inspired by discussion, every influence is unhealthy that prevents men from calm reasoning. And nothing is more calculated to do that than martial excitements which stir the blood. We are told that war will lift up people to a higher and nobler patriotic devotion, inspire them with a spirit of heroic self-sacrifice, and bring their finest impulses and qualities into action. This it will, in a large measure,

if the people feel that the war is a necessary or a just one. But even then its effects upon the political as well as the moral sense are confusing. When the fortunes of war are unfavorable, almost everything that can restore them will be called legitimate, whether it be in harmony with sound principle or not. When the fortunes of war are favorable, the glory of victory goes far to justify, or at least to excuse, whatever may have been done to achieve that victory, or whatever may be done to secure or increase its fruits.

History shows that military glory is the most unwholesome food that democracies can feed upon. War withdraws, more than anything else, the popular attention from those problems and interests which are, in the long run, of the greatest consequence. It produces a strange moral and political color-blindness. It creates false ideals of patriotism and civic virtue.

Nobody is inclined to underestimate the value of military valor. But compared with military valor, we are apt to underestimate the value of other kinds of valor, which are equally great and no less, sometimes even more, useful to the community. I do not refer only to such heroism as that of the fireman, or the member of the life-saving service on the coast, who rescues human beings from the flames or from the watery grave at the most desperate risk of his own life, and whose deeds are all the more heroic as they are not inspired by the enthusiasm of battle, and pale into insignificance by the side of any act of bravery done in killing enemies in the field. I speak also of that moral courage more important in a democracy, which defies the popular outcry in maintaining what it believes right, and in opposing what it thinks wrong.

Blood spilled for it on the battlefield is often taken to sanctify and to entitle to popular support any cause, however questionable. It is called treason to denounce such a cause, be it ever so bad. It is called patriotism to support it, however strongly conscience may revolt against it. Take for instance the man who honestly believes our war against the

Filipinos to be unjust. If that man, faithfully obeying the voice of his conscience, frankly denounces that war, and thereby risks the public station he may occupy, or the friendship of his neighbors, and resolutely meets the clamor vilifying him as a craven recreant and an enemy to the republic, he is, morally, surely no less a hero than the soldier who at the word of command and in the excitement of battle, rushes against a hostile battery. You can no doubt find in our country an abundance of men who would stand bravely under a hailstorm of bullets. But many of them, if their consciences condemned the Filipino war ever so severely, would be loath to face the charge of want of patriotism assailing everybody who opposes it. This is no new story. War makes military heroes, but it makes also civic cowards. No wonder that war has always proved so dangerous to the vitality of democracies; for a democracy needs to keep it alive above all things the civic virtues, which war so easily demoralizes.

You will have observed that I have treated the matter of militarism in the United States in intimate connection with our warlike enterprises, as if they were substantially the same thing. I have done so purposely. As I endeavored to set forth, the development of militarism in European states can be explained on the theory that each power may think the largest possible armaments necessary for the protection of its safety among its neighbors, and for the preservation of peace. With us such a motive cannot exist. Not needing large armaments for our safety—for this republic, if it maintained its old traditional policy, would be perfectly safe without them—we can need them only in the service of warlike adventure undertaken at our own pleasure, for whatever purpose. And here I may remark, by the way, that in my opinion, although such a course of warlike adventure may have begun with a desire to liberate and civilize certain foreign populations, it will be likely to develop itself, unless soon checked, into a downright and reckless policy of conquest with all the "criminal aggression" and savagery

such a policy implies. At any rate, that policy of warlike adventure and militarism will, with us, go together as essentially identical. Without the policy of warlike adventure large standing armaments would, with us, have no excuse and would not be tolerated. If we continue that policy, militarism with its characteristic evils will be inevitable. If we wish to escape those evils and to protect this democracy against their dangerous effects, the policy of warlike adventure must be given up, for the two things are inseparable.

I have referred to the current events of the day only by way of illustration, without giving full voice to the feelings which they stir up in my heart, and the utterance of which might be somewhat warmer than what I have said. My theme being the relation of militarism to democracy in general, and to this great American democracy in particular, I may be permitted to express, in conclusion, my views of what our policy as a democracy should be in order to keep the vitality of the democratic republic unimpaired.

We should, in the first place, restrict our standing armaments to the narrowest practicable limits; and those limits will be very narrow, if this democracy does not suffer itself to be carried away by the ambition of doing things which, as history has amply shown, a democracy cannot do without seriously endangering its vital principles and institutions. There is no doubt that a regular standing army is a more efficient fighting machine, especially at the beginning of a war, than citizen soldiery. But our experience has been that, in the peculiar position we occupy among the nations of the world, we need not have any war unless, without any compelling necessity, we choose to have it. It would be most unwise to shape our whole policy with a view to the constant imminence of war, there being no such imminence, unless we ourselves choose to create it. We should have as our main armed force, and as the natural armed force of a democratic republic, the citizen soldiery to be called out for specific purposes in extraordinary emergencies, the efficiency of that

citizen soldiery to be increased by the training of men to serve as officers, and by the organization of staff corps, upon a plan similar to that adopted in Switzerland. We should have a navy strong enough to do our share in the police of the seas, but not a navy rivaling those of the great naval powers, for, as our history has conclusively taught us, we shall not need it if we keep out of quarrels which do not concern us, and cultivate peace and good will with other nations—a disposition which the rest of the world will be glad to reciprocate. In this way we shall avoid the burdens and evil influences of militarism, and give even our pension roll at last a chance to decrease.

Following a policy essentially different from this we may have our fill of military glory and conquest, but with them, other things which in the course of time will make the American people ruefully remember how free and great and happy they once were with less military glory and with no outlying dominions and subject populations.



**The Commercial Relations of the  
United States with the  
Far East.**

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**Addresses and Discussions.**



## THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE FAR EAST.

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If "prophecy is a gratuitous form of lying," it is almost inexcusable when undertaken in a period of great change and transition. Two continents are being partitioned among the nations of Europe, a partition that cannot but influence the world's movement for a century to come. In Africa the larger part of the task stands completed. Boundaries and spheres of influence have been fixed so far as they can be by treaties and arrangements based upon a common or mutual interest. There is yet some room for changes, but only at one point—Delagoa Bay—can the result be of great moment. In Asia the work is just beginning, and there is every opportunity for greed, intrigue, moral influence, humanity, every passion that a nation can endure to defend its safety, to accomplish its policy, or to gratify its selfishness.

Examine the coast of China as it was only a few years ago. France had won Tonking and Indo China. Portugal held Macao, a place of no naval strength, because so overshadowed by the English island of Hong Kong. Its advantage lay in its being near the mouth of one of the great rivers of China, the only river of the south penetrating to the inner provinces. From Hong Kong to Korea no part of the coast was subject to foreign control. In Korea Russia and Japan were about to fight their contest diplomatically, and the Russian eventually to win. The break came with the Sino-Japanese war. Russia obtained the right to bring its great railroad down to Port Arthur, and began to exercise a preponderating influence in Chinese councils.

This menace of Russian control over an empire that had just been shown to be weak beyond description, aroused in other nations a desire to share in the spoils. Germany, under the plea of defending its missionaries and merchants, obtained under threats a lease of the great peninsula of Shan-tung. Great Britain, by diplomacy, and we know what is back of such diplomacy, leased sufficient territory on the mainland above Hong Kong to render that station safe from any land attack. France obtains a lease of Lei-chau on the promontory at the southern end of Kwang-tung. In the next province—Fo-kien—the Japanese are claiming the right rather than the privilege of establishing themselves. Moving northward, we next meet the Italian claims, involving a lease of the bay of San-mun and three islands off the coast. At the next stage occurs the English sphere in the Yang-tze valley, one that will hardly be surrendered, so high are its value and possibilities held. By the side of the Germans in the Shan-tung peninsula are the British at Wei-hai-wei, a great naval base. Belgium comes forward to ask a concession at Han-kau, whereon to construct the Lu-ban railroad. In this way the entire coast of China is held under one form of control or another, by foreign nations, not one of whom has any interest in maintaining the integrity of the empire, unless such maintenance can prevent rivals from securing more than a fair share of the spoil.

This is certainly a remarkable position for any people to occupy. No charge is made against the Chinese, such as could lie against the followers of the Mahdi, of being a menace to civilization. It can not be said that the Chinese neglect their opportunities as did the Turk, or are hopeless economically, as were the Indians of America, the natives of Africa, or the aborigines of Australia. On the contrary the more that is known of China and the Chinese, the greater is our wonder that in such a mass of population, weighted down by poverty, conservatism and hatred of progress in any form, so much is done, and well done. They have not merited extermination, our brutal exclusion laws to the

contrary; and wherever they have gone, and they move freely, the testimony is universal, that as laborers only, they are willing, industrious, patient and efficient. To have their coast occupied by foreign squatters, not one of whom would not resent a similar move on their own territory, and to be bullied and badgered into giving valuable concessions and privileges which have gain for their object, whatever may be the good intentions of the parties—surely this is a sight to awaken a doubt as to the actuating motives.

Into this circle of marauding powers the United States was pitched unexpectedly and without any thought of the consequences. Being in the Philippines, by purchase, and about to occupy them by conquest over the natives, the fact must be accepted. The ruling motive for accepting the responsibility was commercial; given those islands, it was said, our trade with Asia must be large. They can be used as a stepping stone to secure entrance to the continent, and our farmers or manufacturers, or shipping interests and our Congress will feel a quickening influence, and awake to better things. It is the commercial aspect I wish to dwell upon, and this involves our trade with all Asia.

In 1898 15 per cent of the total imports into the United States was derived from Asia, and 3.63 per cent of the exports were sent to that continent. In 1889 the percentages were 8.55 for imports and 2.48 for exports. In the earlier year the aggregate value of imports was \$63,600,391 and in 1898, it was \$92,594,593—an increase of 45.6 per cent. The value of the exports (domestic) rose in the same period from \$18,422,922 to \$44,642,613 an increase of 142.5 per cent. The whole of this increase in exports has occurred since 1895.

The distribution of this trade is necessary to a proper understanding of the growth. Imports from China have been stationary, but exports have ranged between wide limits, depending on the movement of cotton cloth:

Year.	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Cotton Cloths.	Mineral Oil, Refined.
1889 .	\$17,028,412	\$2,790,621	\$1,519,265	\$908,500
1890 .	16,260,471	2,943,790	1,223,965	1,253,089
1891 .	19,321,850	8,700,318	5,334,860	2,591,660
1892 .	20,488,291	5,663,471	3,887,732	1,251,025
1893 .	20,636,535	3,900,457	1,638,657	1,809,437
1894 .	17,135,028	5,858,488	2,844,220	2,438,636
1895 .	20,545,829	3,602,741	1,703,023	1,181,210
1896 .	22,023,004	6,921,136	3,854,146	2,166,978
1897 .	20,403,862	11,916,888	7,438,203	3,371,973
1898 .	20,326,436	9,992,070	5,195,845	2,839,345
Total .		\$62,289,980	\$34,639,916	\$19,811,853

Second in importance comes Japan, which is even now regarded as the prototype of what China will be when once awakened. Imports from and exports to Japan prove the remarkable activity of that country in building up its foreign commerce:

Year.	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Raw Cotton.	Mineral Oil, Refined.
1889 .	\$16,687,992	\$4,615,712	\$2,341	\$3,086,978
1890 .	21,103,324	5,227,186	85,211	3,573,798
1891 .	19,309,198	4,800,650	223,879	2,894,577
1892 .	23,790,202	3,288,282	132,729	1,812,414
1893 .	27,454,220	3,189,711	68,423	1,724,972
1894 .	19,426,522	3,981,377	360,492	2,226,247
1895 .	23,695,957	4,559,242	806,058	1,656,692
1896 .	25,537,038	7,640,250	1,481,056	3,149,527
1897 .	24,009,756	13,233,970	2,345,016	4,222,383
1898 .	25,223,610	20,354,689	7,428,226	3,592,587
Total .		\$70,891,069	\$13,133,431	\$27,940,175

The great distributing centre of Asiatic trade, Hong Kong, has not held its own in the commerce of the United States, and has suffered through more direct means of communication. Its share in our trade is so small as to be inappreciable, though in our trade with Asia it still receives \$6,233,607 of our exports, and handles \$746,517 of merchandise sent to

this country. In any calculation of the trend of our trade with Asia, Hong Kong may be passed over in the statistics, but examined for its lessons.

Other than independent (I still apply the adjective to China) countries are counted in the Asiatic returns—the colonial possessions of Great Britain and the Netherlands, and even Aden and Turkey in Asia. But it is to China and Japan that I wish to call particular attention, and if I deal at greater length with China, it is because so much stress is laid upon our future commerce within rather than with that empire. On that future must the prosperity of the Philippines rest; and on that future hang our relations to Europe—entangling alliances imposed upon us by commercial ambition.

Let us measure crudely the export trade of the United States to China. For the ten years, 1889-98, the value of our domestic exports sent to that empire was \$62,289,980, of which 87 per cent was made up by two articles of export—cotton cloths and refined mineral oil. In 1889 the proportion of the exports for that year given by these articles was 87 per cent; in 1893, five years later, 88 per cent, and in 1898, another interval of five years, 80 per cent. Up to 1898, it was 87 per cent and over, almost without a break.

Taking the exports to Japan in the same manner, it is found that the total for the ten years was \$70,891,069, and of this total raw cotton made \$13,133,431, and refined mineral oil \$27,940,175, or the two, 58 per cent of the whole. Of the increase in the exports since 1889 (\$15,738,977) raw cotton gave nearly one-half (\$7,425,985). The stationary character of the trade in one country and the elasticity of the demand in the other could hardly be more clearly or simply demonstrated than by these figures. In 1889 raw cotton did not enter appreciably in the export returns to Japan; in 1898, it made more than 36 per cent.

China is poor and not rich. One of the latest and in many respects most intelligent surveys of China says: "There is in China a dreadful poverty of the masses due to rapid

increase of population, wherever a district has been spared rebellion and famine for a few tens of years."\* The vast population is never far removed from famine, and only by constant industry of the most exacting kind can life be sustained. Large numbers of Chinese flock to other lands to obtain a living. They have swarmed down the Malay Peninsula, crossed to the Philippines and attempted to gain a foothold in Australia. They are numerous in the Hawaiian Islands, and have secured the hostile notice of both the United States and the Dominion of Canada. The Chinaman is the laborer for the world, and carries his patient and persistent industry wherever permitted, and his frugal habits enable him to save from wages that no other free laborer would accept. The coolie is a privileged worker compared to him.

Wherever tested and an opportunity given, the Chinaman has proved himself a good worker. The problem then to be settled is how this hive of potential industry can be made to work on the natural resources of China for the benefit of the nations of the West. No one denies the possibilities of Asia; its coal fields, its iron, its tin and its copper deposits; its wonderful waterways, and its population that always seems to offer a market rich beyond description. Against this rosy picture must be set the poverty of the people; their conservatism and hatred of the foreigner; and their decay of enterprise, a decay that has persisted in spite of the touch of Western commerce, and the lesson of defeat at the hands of the Japanese. Now Europe steps in to realize the possibilities, and offers to lead and organize the economic forces of China, so that they may become truly productive and yield handsome dividends to these unselfish civilizers and concessionnaires.

If this development occurs the whole world expects to share in the benefits, and the United States will ask to have its share. But in one direction, more than in another; in imports, rather than exports. In opening new territory by

\* Blackburn Report (Bourne), 10.

making it accessible, and thus giving to the population an outlet for their products, the world's supply of certain articles will be that much increased. Tea, silk, raw cotton, wool, hides, mats and straw braids—these are the great articles of China's export trade with occidentals, and in these lines must the first influence of new conditions be felt. Later will come the greater changes which portend almost to revolutionize industry—the opening and working of coal mines, of iron, copper, tin and even gold deposits, mineral resources hardly touched and known to be large. Given an abundance of cheap labor, a certain and cheap transportation to the coast, and the old sources of supply must feel the influence of these new rivals. If the raw materials are worked on the spot or in the coast cities, great industrial enterprises run without regard to the cost of life—the cheapest product in China—it is possible to picture the condition apprehended by Pearson, the overrunning of Europe and America with the products of the yellow races. Each nation will strive to secure the utmost gain, for combinations will hardly be possible, and production will attain a great pitch of quantity and of lowness of price.

In place of hiring and transporting coolies to distant plantations, this labor will be available on the spot; and instead of being an import of value, the very plenty will make it cheap; while care and protection will cause it to increase. Exports will thus be without hindrance.

How about the imports? In this question the United States has a lasting interest, and a great uncertainty. Of the imports into China, cotton goods hold the first place, opium the second, rice the third, and metal manufactures and mineral oil are of equal importance, as fourth and fifth on the list. In no one item of this enumeration has the United States a natural monopoly; in only one (petroleum) has it a partial monopoly, fast being impaired; and in two (rice and opium) it has and can have no share. Even assuming that China remains as she is, and the ports held by Europe, a cordon of duties would check any growth of our

exports whether from the United States or the Philippines. The English territory will probably be free, though it is by no means certain that with duties on all sides, her manufacturers will not demand some assurance of the markets they are taxed to maintain and defend. Elsewhere our products will meet with discriminating tariffs designed to secure the cream of the trade for the mother country. Where will the increase in our export trade be sought?

But China will not remain as she is. France, Germany, Italy, England, Russia—these nations have gone to Asia for a purpose. They intend to build railroads, open and develop mines, establish industries, and secure all they can from a careful attention to encouraging competition on Asiatic conditions. In place of wanting cottons, products of iron and steel, or other metals, or rice, China will utilize her own resources. This may be a work of time, but under the stimulus of so many competitors it will not require many years to bring it to pass. Every ton of iron, of copper or of tin wrought into metal ware in China; every pound of wool or of cotton, or of silk made into cloth in the provinces, will reduce the necessity of importing them from other countries.

A mere comparison of commercial details develops the distinction between Japan and China—a living and pushing people and a decayed and dying empire. In Japan opium does not stand prominent in the import returns, but the leading place is taken by raw cotton. Second in place is sugar, the consumption of which is by some regarded as a gauge of civilization. Textile and metal manufactures form a large item, and the imports of machinery have increased more than sevenfold in ten years. Not raising sufficient food for its people, it is from other countries that the necessary grains must be obtained. The ability to buy of foreign nations has increased from \$29,700,000 in 1886 to \$94,800,000 in 1896, and the purchases have all been in needed or useful commodities.

To pay for these imports some domestic products were called for, and herein the organizing ability of the Japanese

came into play. Tea and silk were the two important articles of export, the same that China sent into the world's commerce. The problem then presented was how a larger share in the existing market for these commodities could be obtained, and a share in any increase of market offered. China, by neglect of reasonable precautions, suffered the quality of both her tea and silk to degenerate, and the outside buyers were not slow to determine this fact. The value of teas exported from China has hardly varied in the last thirteen years, nor has raw silk followed another course. Only in silk cocoons and in manufactured piece goods of silk (including pongees) has there been an increased export. Japan, on the other hand, paid great attention to her products, and has reaped her reward. The exports of silk have doubled since 1885, and those of silk manufactures have risen from less than 270,000 yen in 1885 to 16,232,000 yen in 1895, and have attracted hostile duties in both France and the United States. The movement of tea has not been so progressive, showing only a small increase; but coal has quadrupled (2,004,000 yen in 1885, and 9,018,000 yen in 1896) due to Indian competition; cotton manufactures have gone from 181,000 yen in 1885 to 3,378,000 yen in 1896; manufactures of wood, bamboos, etc., from 112,000 yen to 6,129,000 yen; and of copper (raw) from 8,183,000 catties to 11,241,000 catties. In the aggregate, the exports have increased from \$31,630,000 in 1885 to \$61,571,000 in 1896.

Many have seen in this advance a picture in small of what will occur in China on a grand scale. There are certain differences that may be noted. The character of the two peoples are different, and the Japanese have much higher organizing powers. "The truth is that a man of good physical and intellectual qualities, regarded merely as an economical factor, is turned out cheaper by the Chinese than by any other race; he is deficient in the higher moral qualities, individual trustworthiness, public spirit, sense of duty and active courage, a group of qualities perhaps best represented in our language by the word manliness; but in the

humbler moral qualities of patience, mental and physical, and perseverance in labor, he is unrivaled. . . .

"European superintendence is essential precisely because of their moral shortcomings above stated. Judged by our standards, we must pronounce all organizations in China (with a few exceptions) above the family and the small business partnership, to be hopeless failure. The upper class seem to lack the moral tone to carry on by enterprises; indeed the laws and the courts of justice are wanting as well as the men."\*

Japan fearlessly went into the money markets and obtained the capital needed for her enterprises. China is held under a crushing weight of custom, of stagnating civilization, and is to be in tutelage for the account and profit of others. No one can doubt for a moment that Europe does not regard the coast provinces as the end of their leases or cessions, or occupations. It is the great interior of China they have in view, and are so anxious to develop. The claim of Italy may be taken as a sample. A lease of the bay, and three islands in it—these matters are first; then the right to build a railroad to Po-yan Lake about one hundred and fifty miles from the sea is claimed, a claim that extends to running the railroad after construction. This is important, as many rivers empty into this lake, navigable into the interior of the surrounding country. Finally preferential mining and railroad rights within a sphere of influence covering two-thirds of the province of Che-kiang—a province containing 36,000 square miles (about one-third as much as Italy herself) and a population estimated at 20,000,000 (about two-thirds the present population of Italy). So France in Tonking has her eye on Yunnan, and England, at the mouth of the Yang-tze, hungers for the trade of provinces 1,500 miles from that mouth, but only to be reached through it at present. Germany and Russia are no more neglectful of the prospective virtues of hinterlands. A map colored to meet the wishes of these land grabbers would resemble that of the

\* Blackburn Report (Bourne), 9.

American colonies of England, when charters were granted to extend from the Atlantic Coast to the South Sea. So anxious are they to obtain a part of what is lying waste that combinations are made like the Anglo-German negotiations for a railway from Tien-tsin to Chin-kiang; and the railroad enterprise over which England and Russia have nearly come to blows.

There are certain obstacles which stand in the path of the commercial development of China, and these obstacles now effect the merchants and products of all nations trading with the Chinese, though not in an equal degree. There is the natural disadvantage of the want of roads and easy access to the interior provinces. There are the rivers, to be sure, and they are great waterways. Apart from them the system of porters is used, a slow, painful and somewhat costly process of transportation. For many commodities it is prohibitive, and it practically confines the export interests of the far western provinces to such products as are of small bulk, and high value—silk and opium. The mountainous regions have mere tracks rather than roads, so narrow that the shoulder poles cannot be used; and a light frame strapped on the back of the coolie takes its place. "The weight which a coolie can carry in this way is perfectly astonishing, and it is a common sight to see him struggling over the most execrable roads having on his back three bundles of Sha-si made cloth, each containing thirty-nine pieces, equal to a load of 220 pounds. Of cotton yarn the load is 160 pounds, and one frequently meets coolies carrying 160 pounds of tin or copper, which has come from the mines in the district of the Tung-chuan."\* Pack animals are not generally used, a coolie can carry a larger load, and while he takes a longer time is quite as cheap—3s. 2d. being a charge for 130 miles.

The first change must be toward constructing better roads where water carriage is not available. Cochin China and Tonking are favored by their many water courses, both

\* Blackburn Report, Neville and Bell, 78.

rivers and canals. Not only do these favor the cultivation of rice, but permit a ready shipment of the crop, just as Virginia and North Carolina were favored in their rice and tobacco days by the same means of getting direct to the plantations. Annam and Cambodia are wanting in rivers. The West River of China is not available to trade; but the Red River promises a means for the French to reach Yunnan—called "the natural economic complement to Indo-China." Even the further sections of the Yang-tze offer serious problems to the navigator—rapids and a rise of seventy feet during the freshets. The Yellow River is more uncertain in its course than our Mississippi, and it is a common occurrence for it to leave its bed, plow a new course through a densely populated country, carrying death and destruction in its new path, and leaving drought and famine in its old. Railroads will supplement river traffic but can never supersede it; and for some time railroad ventures will be costly, uncertain and experimental.

Good means of transport and communication will avail little without a thorough revision of the tax question. This means a reform of provincial or local administration. The likin on imports and the duties on exports not only limit the distribution and consumption of foreign products, but place China at a disadvantage with rival peoples. The existence of these taxes is an encouragement to official corruption, and it is estimated that of every three taels collected, only one reaches the imperial treasury. The burdens imposed by a series of likin barriers, each one taking its toll at a rate fixed by the local authority, involve serious loss and discouragement to trade. Hong Kong is the natural port for the southern provinces. But the impositions levied on merchandise on the West River make it more profitable to take goods intended for Kwang-si to the seaport of Pakhoi, thence partly by boats and partly by porters to the upper waters of the West River, a journey of eight days. One reason for resorting to coolies is the desire to avoid likin stations.

The likin question has in a measure determined the position

of the foreign merchant in China. Generally speaking it has been the treaties with foreign countries that fixed the rights and privileges of the foreigner on Chinese territory. But a subtler and even more powerful influence has neutralized the advantages expected to flow from treaty provisions, and a change of some moment has been wrought so quietly and yet with such determination, that the foreigner, as merchant, may be said to be out of China.

What has been the position of a merchant in China until a very recent time? He possessed a bare right to import and export at certain ports established by treaty. In these ports he occupied a "concession," that is a piece of ground leased by the Chinese Government to his own government, and sublet to the merchant; or a "settlement," an area within which he may lease land directly from the native authorities. He could not manufacture, he could not mine or engage in agriculture. He was a mere commission merchant, for outside of these places, the internal trade is in the hands of the Chinese, "excellent peddlers" as they are. Of late some concessions have been made. By treaty privilege steamers may be sent up the Yang-tze to Ch'ung-king, a distance of 1,400 miles from the sea. Under the treaty of Shimonoseki the right to manufacture has been granted and machinery may be imported. Twenty-one ports are treaty or open ports.\*

It was the purpose of the negotiator of the treaty of Tientsin to lighten some of the burden of these *likin* or local charges, and the transit pass system was the outcome. On payment of the legal customs duty at the port of entry, and one-half that tariff in addition, goods, whether import or export, should be free to pass between the port of shipment or entry, to or from any part of China, without further charge of toll, octroi, or tax of any description whatsoever.†

\* These are : New Chwang, Tient-sin, Chefoo, on the northern coast; Chung-king, I-Chang, Shasi, Hankow, Kiu-kiang, Wuhu, Chinkiang, and Shanghai, on the Yang-tze River, Ningpo, Wenchow, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, Canton, Hoihow (Klungchow), and Pakhol, on the coast south of the Yang-tze; and Hang-chow and Soochow, two cities in the neighborhood of Shanghai.

† Lord Elgin, in China No. 4, 1870.

In practice the intentions of the pioneers of the system have been neutralized, and in some places to such an extent as to make an "open port" an illusion.

At Wuchow, for instance, the privilege is evaded by imposing differential duties on transit pass goods. Or the transit passes are recognized only while the commodities they cover are in foreign hands; as soon as they reach Chinese merchants, the demand for *likin* is made. Or the pass is accepted and at the end of the journey a "terminal" charge is imposed. Taxation is made the easier because it is imposed on the Chinese merchant.

One result of this system is to crowd out the foreign merchant, in both the import and the export trades. It has been the impression that the opening of a new port in China to commerce involved a concession to foreigners. In practice it has been found it is the native merchant who benefits. The carriage of any article in vessels of a foreign type, or even in native craft in which foreigners may claim to have an interest, at once withdraws those commodities from the control of the native customs with their petty exactions and unscrupulous charges. "At the present day, to open a new port to foreign trade may mean little else than giving to native merchants at that port the blessing of a fixed tariff and an honest customs administration."—*Brenan*, 54.

"The impression which a visit to nearly all the treaty ports of China leaves upon the mind is that the Chinese people are monopolizing in an increasing degree the commercial advantages obtained under the several treaties which foreign governments have concluded with China. Foreign powers having prepared the ground for their nationals, the Chinaman is gradually elbowing them out and occupying the position for himself."\* Chiefly at Hong Kong and Shanghai is the British merchant found. In most of the ports it is the Chinaman, and he is becoming the more important commercial factor. Not only does he buy of the

\* Report of H. B. M. Consul Byron Brenan, on the State of Trade at the Treaty Ports of China, 1896.

agent at Shanghai or Hong Kong, but his orders are given for imports to be made. Of the textiles imported from Europe and the United States, it is estimated that one-half is specially indented for under instructions from Chinese dealers. Cotton and woolen goods apart, seventy-five per cent of the other imports at Shanghai is on Chinese account. The foreign firm, through whom the order has been given has no interest in the goods on arrival, beyond their security for the payment by the Chinese principal. It is a commission transaction, not that of a merchant.

This situation is not favorable to the expansion of China's commerce. Every advantage secured by foreigners has been obtained by treaty, and often by a treaty extorted under a threat or actual exertion of force. Every privilege secured by treaty is intended to make commercial intercourse more free and more possible. The foreign merchant under cover of the treaty may do many things without interference from the authorities, but the Chinese merchant would be subject to that interference.

While the foreign merchant may plead treaty rights, and generally secure them, the native merchant is powerless. He has no government to back his complaints, he can hope for no aid from agitation, for the simple reason that he dare not agitate. As soon as he begins to move his goods into the interior he meets the *likin*, and at many stages of his journey. The officials could wreak a disastrous vengeance upon him should he incur their displeasure, and he has no redress against their extortion. Illegal taxation and vexatious detention of goods already exist; they may be so intensified as to throttle trade. Hence the disadvantage of distributing through Chinese merchants.

Export trade from China is in foreign hands. "A change is noticeable. Where years ago a few large firms with large capital bought China's products and sent them to Europe on their own account, there are now many small firms who receive orders from Europe by telegraph, and who fulfill these for a small commission at no risk to themselves. The

telegraph and banking facilities have made it unnecessary to possess capital, and the business of the export merchant in China has in a great measure changed into that of the commission agent. One of the consequences of this is that the commission agent who is buying on a limit, and who receives a commission on the amount of the invoice, buys on the best terms he can at the treaty port, but has no personal interest in the previous treatment which the merchandise has experienced at the hands of the tax collector, and does not feel disposed to engage in the interminable disputes which an attempt to profit by the treaty stipulations affecting the inland transit of merchandise would land him in. Were he dealing with his own money, and was every dollar saved in taxes a dollar in his own pocket, he probably would try to bring his taxation down to a legal minimum; but in filling an order he now takes what the local market offers, and makes no research into the past."—*Brenan, 14, 15.*

Hampered as it is by local dues on both imports and exports, dues which even the ingenuity of native merchants cannot evade, the special products of China are placed at a disadvantage in foreign markets. Silk is taxed in the cocoon, before it can pass into the hands of a foreigner; and tea lands pay a growers' tax that cannot be evaded by transit passes. This disadvantage alone will not explain the fact that the Asiatic trade is more or less confined to Asiatic countries. China's total imports in 1886 were 89,310,000 Hk. taels, of which 59,497,000 taels—or two-thirds—were from Asiatic countries. In 1896, the same percentage held, two-thirds of a total of 211,623,000 Hk. taels (140,408,000 taels) being of Asiatic origin. But only 41 per cent of China's exports in 1886 were sent to Asiatic countries, and 64 per cent in 1896.\* Japan's commerce gave almost the same result. In the two years, 1886 and 1896, about 30 per cent of the total imports was Asiatic; but 23 per cent of the exports in 1886 went to Asia, and 32 per cent in 1896, as follows:

\* Total export in 1886, 77,207,000 Hk. taels: to Asia, 31,893,000. In 1896, total, 131,081,000 Hk. taels; to Asia, 83,657,000 taels.

1886, total import, 37,637,000 yen; from Asia, 11,348,000 yen.

1896, total import, 188,666,000 yen; from Asia, 60,122,000 yen.

1886, total export, 48,871,000 yen; to Asia, 11,273,000 yen.

1896, total export, 129,455,000 yen; to Asia, 41,954,000 yen.

The trade of British India is pertinent on this point. The exports of merchandise and treasure by sea were returned at £90,113,171 in 1887, and £108,840,187 in 1897—an increase of 20 per cent. The exports to all Europe rose from £56,610,000 in 1887 to £58,450,000 in 1897—an increase of only 3 per cent; while those to Asiatic countries were £24,507,112 in 1887 and £33,849,257 in 1897—an increase of nearly 40 per cent. The development of Indian export interests has wholly been toward Asia. In imports the showing is better for Europe, for the trade of that continent to India increased in ten years at nearly the same rate as the trade of Asia to India—21 per cent for Asia and 22 per cent for Europe. It is with Egypt, Japan and Russia and Asia that the largest returns of increased imports are shown.

This has been in a measure the experience of Great Britain with British India. In 1897, the year of latest returns, the total exports of India by land and sea were £113,400,000, of less than one-third (£34,786,000, or 30 per cent) was sent to the United Kingdom. Standing between two continents, with such a facility as the Suez canal to favor the trade with Europe, India sells to that continent £58,405,000 or a shade over one-half of its total export movement. This may be taken as an unusually favorable showing for the argument in favor of commercial expansion, but the United States in 1898 sent 80 per cent of its exports to Europe, and counting in what was sent to North American countries, the proportion rises to 90 per cent. Second in importance among the colonies feeding the trade of the United Kingdom is Australasia, with its varied interests and products. Excluding gold, the total exports in 1897 were £65,350,000, of which £26,000,000—nearly 40 per cent—was

sent to the United Kingdom. Turning to the English trade returns it is seen that the total imports from Australasia were £29,352,000, of which £16,785,000—57 per cent—was in wool, a concentration of import interest that is in itself remarkable. If we add a single item from four of these dependencies, butter from Victoria (£816,400); tallow from New South Wales (£661,000); fresh beef from Queensland (£725,000), and fresh mutton from New Zealand (£2,077,000), 72 per cent of the entire imports from Australasia into the United Kingdom is accounted for.

Returning to purely Asiatic colonies of Great Britain the Straits Settlements exports £18,000,000 a year, but only one-seventh goes to the United Kingdom, and if all Europe be included, less than one-fourth is sent direct. Mauritius sends only £45,000 of a total of £2,846,000 to the United Kingdom, and the demand of all Europe for its products (of which sugar is the great one) will not double that amount. Ceylon is more devoted to English interests, for two-thirds of its exports are taken by the United Kingdom, due to the peculiar product of tea. If a very few articles are excluded from the export trade of these Eastern possessions—tin, tea, jute, hides and skins and wool—what remains has little attractions for Europe, and is Asiatic in availability.

The Netherlands holds important islands in the East, and their trade is naturally largely with the mother country through fiscal arrangements. It is a trade resting on an artificial basis, but now passing through a transition stage, and a difficult one to foresee in its results. The leading products for export are sugar, coffee and tobacco. The sugar crop is experiencing the same pressure as throughout the world; the cultivation of coffee is passing more and more into the hands of individuals, and the production of tea, tin, cinchona bark, indigo and tobacco points out the future lines of growth for the island.

Being more and more Asiatic in its export character, how can some of the benefits of Asia fall to the United States?

Only in two ways, it is said : by establishing Manila as a free port ; or by manufacturing for Asia on an Asiatic basis.

Make Manila a free port, it is said, and the United States will be in a position to claim its share in Asia's trade. How can this be ? The example in mind is clearly Hong Kong, but the history of that island shows how it was favored by conditions not likely to be repeated. The striking fact about Hong Kong is that it was not China but the Chinese that made it possible and have made it what it is. For a long time it was a morgue spot : "the White Man's Grave," and an Alsatia, a place of refuge for the lawless or criminal, and its future was in doubt as late as 1848. Then came a series of events: the discovery of gold in Australia and California made the coolie trade profitable; the Taiping rebellion which drove men of property to the island for protection; the Suez canal and its effect on Eastern commerce; and the opportunities for work offered in the Malay Peninsula. From a struggling town no better than a mining camp in morals, it has become one of the great shipping centres of the world. "In the colony of Hong Kong," says Colquhoun, "most of the wealth is in the hands of the Chinese, and in all the chief business houses and financial institutions the Chinese hold positions of great responsibility."\* For some years the commerce of Europe at Hong Kong has shown a tendency to decrease, a fact that can be explained only by the change in the direction of Asiatic commerce, by which the transactions are more and more among the peoples of Asia and less with the countries of Europe and America. Further, the over-sea commerce tends to become more direct, and the need of a port of deposit or for transshipments is less felt.

Nor geographically can it be said Manila offers any advantage to Asia's trade. There is already a great shipping station at Singapore, for the Indian commerce, and it is quite as convenient to steam from Singapore to Hong Kong, as it

\* *China in Transformation*, 316.

would be to go to Manila and thence to Hong Kong, or any port of Asia. If the advantage of a free port is not to be had, the only alternative is to use the Philippines as a manufacturing base, for supplying the continent with certain manufactures, like low grade cotton cloths. Native labor, if available, and native cotton would be used, after the manner proposed by the French in Tonking. In that event the question of labor would again come to the front. Would an attempt be made to use the natives, or to bring coolies from China? The success of either would be problematical, against the establishment of mills in China itself.

As an agricultural colony the Philippines have their possibilities, for there is a natural monopoly in Manila hemp, and a capacity for all tropical growths. But the labor for the plantations, where is that to be had? Spain used the natives, but only under a system that ruined the planter and drove the laborer into rebellion. The methods purported to be in imitation of those adopted by the Dutch in Java. "The [Spanish] law prescribed that every native might plant tobacco, but might only sell it to the government. In the tobacco districts every native had to grow a certain number of plants and devote all his attention to them." Here all similarity ended. The tobacco was sorted by the officials and the unfit burned. "For valuing the tobacco the officials used a scale, according to which the planter received some 20 to 30 per cent of the real value. But he was not paid in cash. He received a certificate, a kind of treasury bond. Had the people had security for the payment of these bonds at an early date, the latter would soon, no doubt, have come into currency as paper money. But, far from this being so, no one would have them, knowing that five or six years might pass before they were redeemed. The tobacco planters lived under more miserable conditions than the worse kept slaves, and were glad if some noble philanthropist would give them half the value of their certificates, for who could say whether the purchaser was

not risking his 50 per cent. Frequently the bonds were practically given away."\*

Tobacco, hemp and sugar, these are the three leading products of the island, and all paid export duties under the Spanish rule. The tobacco finds no market in the United States; the sugar will be at a disadvantage with the Cuban and Hawaiian products, and must find a market in China; and hemp can not find an indefinitely increasing demand. There are minerals. The coal is of a quality that unfits it for transportation and must confine it to local use. Gold is reported, and copper is known to exist. Iron ore is abundant, but the lignites of the archipelago are said to be unsuitable for blast furnaces, and charcoal pig is the method suggested.† The copper deposits were worked for a time, but were abandoned for want of labor. It is too sanguine a view to accept Mr. Tornow's view: "It is certain that the Philippines, whose future is already assured by their mineral wealth, will play a part in the industry of the coming years equal to, if not surpassing, that of Japan." Even if we accept his view it leads us to the conclusion that the commerce must be for Asia, not for the United States.

Another straw indicating the direction of trade winds. When Japan obtained possession of Formosa, a tariff of ten per cent ad valorem on imports went into operation. This increase, applying as it did to all imports from foreign countries fell as much on Chinese as on British cottons. Some compensation was expected from the privilege of free circulation of goods throughout the island. In the event Japanese and Chinese cloths have excluded all grades of foreign cloth coming in competition, leaving a much restricted demand for finer grades to be satisfied by Great Britain.

In Japan there are a million spindles now in operation, producing, 650,000 bales of cotton yarn of 400 lbs. each, of which more than 200,000 bales will be sent to China. In the needs of no other textile industry in Japan can the United States have

\*Tornow, "The Philippine Islands."

† George F. Becker of the U. S. Geological Survey.

a share either in the raw material or manufactured product. Silk is out of the question, wool is obtained from Australia and China, while woollens are cheaper in France, Germany or Great Britain than here. Flax and hemp are to be had from the Philippines, China and British India. Is it too much to look for an imitation of Russia's policy, which has sought to make that country independent of our fibre by developing the culture in Asia?

Is not this Asiatic commerce beset by a new difficulty offering a new problem of no little moment? Every port of size on the coast is in the hands or under the control of some European nation. We have set an example by declaring the Philippines open for ten years, and Mr. Reid assures us they will never be closed. What assurance have we that Continental Europe will maintain open ports in Asia? France in Tonking has been exclusive, and her coming policy is foreshadowed by her measures taken in Madagascar within a year. A decree gave a monopoly of the coasting trade to French vessels; it was promptly recalled, only because it was found the vessels flying the French flag were insufficient in number and tonnage for the needs of commerce. The application of the home tariff to the island, in itself a hardship to foreign merchants, was followed by a commercial campaign on the part of the "General Commander-in-Chief of the Corps of Occupation and the Governor-General of Madagascar and dependencies." "I have also to request you to instruct the native authorities," ran his circular, "to exert all their influence in favor of the objects at which we are aiming [to introduce French products]. It will be easy for them from the point of view now before us, to represent to persons living under their jurisdiction, that tissues of French manufacture are as good as similar articles manufactured abroad; that it is only fitting that the Malagasy, who have now become French subjects, should conform to our national customs by using our products; that their clothing thus becomes a distinctive mark of their new position, and that it should be made of

French tissues. . . But they must bear in mind that no obstacles should be placed in the way of the sale and circulation of foreign merchandise. Your part, as well as that of your native subordinates, consists simply in making clear to our new subjects the benefit to be derived by them from the purchase of French products, which will henceforward be more suitable to their habits and wants, which have been modified in the last two years by the introduction of French laws and customs. Such a course is absolutely within our right, and no one has any right to take exception to it." Further, the columns of the Malagasy journal (the *Vaovao*) were open to advertisements of French products, free of cost to the advertiser.\* This found an echo in the French parliament. Introducing the debate on the colonies, March 6, 1899, M. Etienne said: "Surely France did not colonize for the benefit of foreign nations." As a result of this policy the exports of French cotton piece goods of all kinds to Madagascar rose from 690,400 francs value in 1897 to 5,512,000 francs in 1898. What reason to expect more liberal ideas in Tonking?

Another point must be considered. In order to raise the money necessary to pay the war indemnity to Japan, China mortgaged to the lenders the greater part of the receipts from customs revenue. It is generally known that the financial methods of China are not elastic, and favor a host of officials in the provinces rather than supply the imperial treasury. The land tax, which is the chief item in each provincial budget, is immutably fixed by law, and any attempt to increase it would lead to rebellion. As a monopoly the impost on salt has reached its limit, and it would be dangerous to make it heavier. Trade is, and has been the most reliable source of income, under the administration of a foreigner; but what is to happen when each port is under a different head, and competing with one another after the fashion peculiar to five rival governments? The "cohesive power of public plunder" makes itself felt under the

\*Circular No. 346, printed in the *Journal Officiel*, twenty-third April, 1898.

mandarins ; but would be entirely wanting under German, French or British rule.

Here then is a cordon drawn round China, more obstructive than any Chinese wall, and liable on many accounts to be made effective as a complete prohibition on commerce. It might be assumed the privilege of trade could be assured by treaty, for a longer or shorter period. Where has a treaty been able to stand in the way of interested attack? The tripartite control of Samoa does not offer as many occasions for difference, as would the holding of the Chinese coast for commercial reasons by six great powers, and among the six the United States will not figure. The dual management of Egypt, was child's play compared to the problem of Chinese management. What has occurred in Africa, where the native counts for nothing, is only a pale forecast of what may happen in China with six nations contending for commercial advantage among a people numbering 300,000,000 souls.

Bearing in mind that the natural resources of the East are to be exploited with all the perfection of modern appliances and cheaper labor than has ever been offered, the following questions suggest themselves: How can cotton goods of the United States find other than a limited market in Asia against the cottons of India, Japan and China? How can American petroleum, better article as it is, hold more than its own against the Russian oil, supported as it may be by a bounty for political effect? Then there are the oil fields of Langkat to be counted in as competitors. How can American iron and steel enter markets held to be closed by European countries, each one of which wishes to keep for its own people the construction of the railroads, the building and running steam vessels, and the profits of the custom house? What better chance will there be for American machinery, the rolling stock of a railroad, the mining machinery and certain textile machines, than now presents itself? Finally, are we looking forward to meeting Asiatic competition with an even higher tariff than is now endured, a tariff bristling with duties like those on silks in the present law, specially leveled against the imports of light silk goods from Japan?

## THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE FAR EAST.

ROBERT T. HILL, *U. S. Geological Survey.*

The storm centre of world interest undoubtedly now hovers over the far East and it is well that the people of this nation, while not participating in the struggle for territory, should seriously consider their interests in this distant region and how they may be protected in the field in which others are now engaged.

Mr. Ford in his address has analyzed the elements of the commercial relations of the far East and little remains to be said from the statistical point of view. He has given many of the facts concerning the actual conditions of trade and his paper is so exhaustive that he has left but little room for additional data, other than the indulgence in generalizations and conclusions.

This Eastern question has but little relation to the recent history-making events in which our nation has been engaged and should not be confused with our problems of territorial expansion. The late expansion of our nation has not been the result of governmental intent, but the culmination of great forces acting through the individual atoms of society which moved irrelevant to any preconceived political plan. Most of this growth, like that of the butterfly, has been within the cocoon, and it is only within the past year that we have emerged from the chrysalis stage into a conspicuous form which attracts the attention of the outer world and astonishes even ourselves with our own magnitude and powers. No one here can predict or judge how or where these newly felt powers will lead us. The dynamic forces of our expansion have been the superior quality of the citizen which our institutions have created, his desires for

individual improvement and gain, manifested in mechanical inventions, commerce and trade, and his capacity for initiation and administration. The spirit of the United States has been to develop in every citizen the capacity for personal expansion and the growth of the nation is but a natural result of the aggregate uplifting and outspreading capacity of these units. It is the possession of these forces that gives us a feeling that we are competent to compete with the world and to meet any emergency, industrial or political, that may arise.

There are some Americans who believe that we can continue to exist entirely upon our own adipose, and who do not yet appreciate that we have become a world power, or realize that with our 5,000 miles of coast, our numerous maritime cities and our unlimited capacities for building and manning ships, we own an interest in the ocean as well as in the land. I have seen our nation pass through the most remarkable epoch of its history. My boyhood days were spent in helping reduce the vast unsettled wilderness which this country still possessed twenty-five years ago and which at that time was considered unlimited for settlement and productiveness. I have spent my later years in studying foreign regions where I was constantly impressed with opportunities for the extension of American commerce. These studies enabled me to see the approaching importance of our foreign trade and gave some definite opinions, which when expressed, resulted in securing the appellations which my conservative friends variously applied—a jingo, an expansionist and an imperialist. My jingoism, however, has consisted of a wish to see American trade stand upon an equal footing with that of all other countries; a desire for the inauguration of good government at home and the suppression of those conditions abroad which tended to prevent the flag which protects our commerce from receiving the universal respect to which it was entitled. It is my privilege to have a wide acquaintance with all classes and kinds of people in this country and I am happy to say that I do not know an American who has in his heart a desire to wrench from any other nation a foot of territory or seize unjustly that which does not belong to us. Hence the term expansionist, in so far as it applies to the principle that we should hold that which has legitimately become ours, may be considered a designation of honor. Neither do I know in this wide

country of ours a single man who desires to upset our democratic institutions or to take from the people and invest in a sovereign a single one of these inestimable rights which it has been their pleasure to enjoy. Hence the term imperialist is a meaningless misnomer borrowed from English colonial politics, which have no counterpart in this country. Whatever terms may be applied to those who uphold our recent expansion in the Caribbean and the Pacific, I do not believe that any American desires to see this country participate in the acquirement of Chinese territory.

For one hundred years our people found an outlet for their energies and expansive forces in developing and conquering their own territory, in opening mines, and establishing systems of internal communication, and above all educating the youth to a degree of general mentality not approached by any other nation in the world. Suddenly we found that the nation no longer possessed undeveloped lands to bestow in exchange for the energy of those who would reclaim them; that the cream of our national resources had been garnered from public to private ownership. But the impulse of enterprise which our educational and political systems had set in action still remained with us as a force of great potentiality which is bound to be felt in foreign fields.

The events of the past year, by which our national conditions have been bettered, were not a sudden outbreak upon our part, but represented the culmination of a war which has practically continued since the beginning of our national experiences. The second page of Schouler's history describes how Spain in the very first year of our existence was a stealthy foe of the United States. The favorite saying of a captain-general of that time was that had he the power he would prevent the birds from flying across the boundary between the United States and Mexico. Since then Spanish sovereignty adjacent to our Southern border has been a source of irritation and annoyance which placed unjust and uncivilized restriction against the natural laws of trade, and prevented our commercial development in that direction. History will look upon the events of the past year merely as the equitable and righteous end of a century of irritation. The Philippine question is an unexpected incident of this war with Spain, which was primarily fought to protect our commercial relations in the Western hemisphere. These islands have come to us as the legitimate prize of a just and

civilized war upon our part without preconceived thought or desire to acquire such distant and extraterritorial domain, although their acquirement at this time gives us a timely and needed vantage which we did not before possess. Their acquisition is an entirely distinct and separate proposition from the broader Eastern question in which this country has had a deep and vital interest for many years, at least since the Chinese and Japanese ports were first opened to Western trade.

Broadly stated, the problem of our commercial relations with the far East, including under that term all of Indo-Pacific Asia, is the preservation of the present opportunities and the enlargement of future possibilities in one of the many fields of trade which make up the aggregate of our commerce. This area embraces about 10,500,000 square miles of territory, inhabited by 815,000,000 people—three times the area of the United States and twelve times the population. In its restricted sense the Eastern question applies to China only, and involves the reclamation of the Chinese people from a world retarding and inefficient culture, and their elevation into factors of greater productivity. There are other and perhaps as important fields of trade nearer home which one might well argue are more worthy of our attention, notably the commerce of our South and Central American neighbors. These are dormant fields, however, which are not threatened by cloture and will await our future attention.

The Eastern Sphere of Trade includes the following countries:

Country.	Area. Square Miles.	Population.
Borneo . . . . .	290,000	1,750,000
Celebes . . . . .	71,000	2,000,000
Chinese Empire . . . . .	4,218,000	400,000,000
British India . . . . .	1,560,000	300,000,000
Indo China . . . . .	138,000	17,000,000
Java . . . . .	51,000	24,000,000
Japan . . . . .	148,000	40,090,000
Korea . . . . .	82,000	10,000,000
Siam . . . . .	300,000	5,000,000
Sumatra . . . . .	161,000	3,000,000
Philippines . . . . .	114,000	7,000,000
Oceanica . . . . .	3,480,000	5,100,000
	<hr/> 10,613,000	<hr/> 814,940,000

When it became apparent that the powers of Europe had determined to dismember and seize upon the Empire of China, our people were naturally amazed and alarmed concerning the effect of this policy upon our own commercial relations. Sober second thought, however, must lead us to the conclusion that the effects of such a partition instead of being detrimental to our interests, will be to our advantage and prosperity. No great benefit to our trade in the East may be expected should Asia be permitted to remain Asiatic. It is only in the near possibility of its being Europeanized in commerce and government that any future gain for our trade and commerce is to be sought. I maintain that even that portion of the Chinese territory which comes under the control of those nations practicing the "closed door" policy will prove a more fertile field of trade to us than China in its present condition, for "closed doors" can sometimes be opened, while Chinese walls have no doors at all.

It has already been clearly shown how essential Caucasian superintendence is to the development of China, and no one doubts that under such superintendence the wealth producing and wealth consuming capacity of that country will be enormously multiplied. Stimulation of commerce is what this country should most desire in China, and it can but reflect great credit upon our trade just as the development of South Africa has done. The reasons for this belief are as follows:

1. China will to a degree be Caucasianized inasmuch as large and intelligent European administrative populations will be introduced whose customs and habits will be imitated by the natives. Each European wears and uses perhaps ten times as many commodities of trade as an Asiatic. Europeans to-day consume nearly eight times as much of our products as all the races of the world combined. In round numbers Europe takes \$805,000,000 of our exports, Asia, \$40,000,000; South America, \$35,000,000; Oceanica, \$20,000,000, and Africa, \$15,000,000. The presence of Europeans in China will create and enlarge the markets for foreign goods. The effect of Western civilization upon Oriental life can be seen by comparison of Japanese imports with those of China.

## Barbaric China Imports.

Cotton goods,  
Opium,  
Metals,  
Kerosene,  
Woolen goods,  
Coal,  
Raw cotton,  
Fishery products.

## Civilized Japan Imports.

Rice,  
Pulse,  
Sugar,  
Chemicals,  
Raw cotton,  
Cotton yarn,  
Woolen yarn,  
Flannels,  
Muslins,  
Cloths,  
Blankets,  
Steel rails,  
Watches,  
Oil cakes,  
Spring machinery,  
Steam vessels, and

a hundred other articles aggregating in value all the above.

Within the past ten years our trade with Japan, both imports and exports, has increased by annual bounds and jumps, the former having increased 50 per cent and the latter 345 per cent. This can be attributed to no other cause than the awakening of Japan through its adoption of Western civilization.

Furthermore the foreign trade with civilized Japan with a population of 33,000,000 amounts to \$289,517,000, or \$9.60 per capita, while the total trade of China with twelve times the population amounts to only \$34,000,000, or less than nine cents per capita of population. Who can doubt that the introduction of Western civilization into China will develop an enormous foreign trade just as it has done in Japan?

We need not look with despair upon the rapid growth of the foreign trade of Japan which has doubled in eleven years. That country has allied itself in civilization and habit with England and ourselves and we should regard its prosperity as a welcome element in the otherwise dark political panorama of the East. If she has increased the number of her spindles and competed with our manufacturers of cotton goods it has had no appreciable effect upon that industry in this country, for our cotton mills, notwithstanding this competition, are enjoying the first epoch of undoubted prosperity for many years, and have apparently found market for all they can produce. Furthermore, the development of cotton manufacture in Japan has been a beneficial factor to the cotton producer of this country and already

cargoes of our raw material have found new markets in that country. I have recently heard of several propositions to cultivate cotton by irrigation on the Pacific Coast of North America for the purpose of supplying the Japanese demand.

I have prepared a table showing our imports and exports with the Eastern Asiatic countries from the year 1886 to 1898, inclusive. (See page 138.)

The partition of China has been practically going on during the years included in these statistics, especially since the last Japanese war (1895). These figures show that our trade with the Eastern countries has been steadily increasing notwithstanding the constant encroachment of European occupation. Our imports from China have remained stationary, while our exports have increased 174 per cent. In all the other countries of the East our trade has in general been normal and has held its own. Furthermore, our trade with the Asiatic Russia, including Korea, has actually grown into measurable proportions from almost nothing ten years ago. The prosperity of this trade has increased proportionately with the pressure of European influence in the far East and has been especially prosperous for the past four years, our exports having increased during that time to China, the Dutch East Indies, the British East Indies, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and Asiatic Russia. These figures indicate the beginning of American prosperity in the East rather than the commencement of a dismal epoch of exclusion.

The stimulation resulting from the introduction of European influence into the far East has already been felt by our commerce. Mr. Ford in his statistics has shown us how much the trade of the far East has increased since the partition of China practically began with the end of the Japanese war in 1895. In 1889, 8.55 per cent of our imports came from Asia; in 1898, 15 per cent. In 1889 only 2.48 per cent of our exports went to that country; in 1898 3.63 per cent. Of this increase 46 per cent in our imports and 76 per cent in our exports took place during a single year of partition, a fact which is indeed most gratifying. This is but a fraction of what the increase will be when the political conditions of China which Mr. Ford so graphically describes, are abolished. Surely if partition has had any influence at all upon this trade it has so far been most quickening.

2. European occupation of China will abolish the unfortunate and incompetent political conditions which have been

## EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE FAR EAST DURING THE YEARS 1889-1898, INCLUSIVE.

(From the Statistics of the U. S. Treasury Department.)

COUNTRIES.	YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.									
	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
<i>Asia.</i>										
China:										
Imports	\$17,028,412	\$16,260,471	\$19,321,850	\$20,488,201	\$20,636,535	\$17,135,028	\$20,514,829	\$22,023,004	\$20,402,862	\$20,326,436
Exports	2,791,126	2,946,209	8,701,008	5,463,497	3,000,457	5,862,426	3,603,840	6,921,933	11,924,433	9,991,894
British East Indies:										
Imports	20,020,601	20,804,319	23,356,989	24,773,107	25,968,554	14,820,661	21,266,013	20,370,558	20,977,122	27,328,459
Exports	4,330,413	4,655,979	4,400,103	3,671,307	3,152,760	4,399,103	2,853,941	3,225,368	3,844,911	4,690,855
Dutch East Indies:										
Imports	5,207,254	5,791,250	6,778,992	6,914,743	8,696,588	11,276,725	7,727,282	14,864,026	15,604,866	14,520,335
Exports	2,469,604	1,799,306	2,102,942	1,372,035	1,183,605	1,722,876	1,147,315	1,376,316	2,094,109	1,201,274
French East Indies:										
Imports	319,427	93,157	188,629	140,427	156,020	190,049	69,136	76,158	135,183	152,265
Exports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Portuguese East Indies:										
Imports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Exports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hong Kong:										
Imports	1,480,266	969,745	563,275	763,323	878,078	899,511	776,476	1,419,124	923,842	746,517
Exports	3,686,384	4,439,153	4,768,697	4,894,049	4,216,602	4,269,847	4,553,040	4,591,201	6,060,039	6,263,200
Japan:										
Imports	16,687,992	21,103,324	19,300,198	23,790,202	27,454,200	19,426,522	23,666,957	25,337,028	24,009,756	25,223,610
Exports	4,619,985	5,232,643	4,807,693	3,390,111	3,192,494	3,986,815	4,634,717	7,689,685	13,255,478	20,388,420
Korea:										
Imports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Exports	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Russia, Asiatic:										
Imports	110,538	103,298	103,567	320,167	381,919	353,476	441,013	246,649	201,421	111,050
Exports	109,188	121,803	161,586	120,200	144,591	163,855	204,937	568,002	413,942	618,015

such a barrier to the development of the country. All writers and observers agree that the Chinaman as an individual is competent and industrious, possessing in some respects more sterling qualities of manhood than the Japanese, and that it is only the hopeless political degradation that keeps him reduced to the lowest industrial plane, his opportunities now being restricted to agricultural pursuits, peddling, and performing the functions of the beast of burden.

3. The introduction of Western civilization and government will stimulate mining, manufacturing, mechanical, transportation, and all the modern occupations which increase personal remuneration, add to the volume of circulation, and create demand and market for articles of civilized commerce now unknown to the people.

One may pooh-pooh at the quantity of cotton goods and bric-a-brac which constitutes the present commerce of China, but the world knows that the vast area of that decrepit empire is to be net-worked with railroads and telegraph lines opening up the vast mineral resources which are demanded in the world's arts and industries, and in these lines we shall find our opportunities for profit. European control of China means opportunity for the young men we are educating in our technical colleges, market for our iron and machinery, and untold profit for our people. Continued Chinese methods present not one ray of hope for our material profit.

No one can deny the advantage to our commerce of having Western civilization on the Eastern shore of the Pacific. It will stimulate our merchant marine, upbuild our Pacific Coast, appreciate the importance of our island stations and round out our nationality. What the Atlantic without Europe on the other side would be, the Pacific now is to us with China as it is.

"Where will the increase in our export trade be sought?" asks Mr. Ford. This question is as applicable to all the rest of the world as well as for China. Expansion of trade is a matter which concerns the individual merchant. He must seek and procure his own orders.

The argument that every ton of metal wrought in China will reduce the necessity of importing metal wares from other countries is not essentially correct. The Chinese may make plates and utensils or other crude manufactures of

metal, but Americans can make machinery, and in the mechanical education of this country we have a monopoly of capital with which China will not be able to compete for a hundred years even though we made no further progress in that epoch. American mining machinery excels that of any other country and holds its own throughout the world, and the first American spade that enters the undeveloped ore banks of China will stimulate a demand for American mining machinery that will be of multiple effect in increasing our trade in that product. Not only this, but American brain and technical skill will predominate in the development of those mines and American element introduced into China will sympathetically aid trade in other directions.

The trade of the United States while measured in aggregates to be understood must be considered by particles. It is the smallest individual retail purchase that creates the demand for goods. The pending events will undoubtedly better the purchasing power of the Chinese individual, and this is a side of the question which deserves some consideration. The future extension of our trade in foreign countries, China included, must depend much more upon individual exertion than upon governmental aid. Our merchants and manufacturers must win patronage by supplying the best quality of goods at the lowest prices. Such articles will win against the most despicable governmental barriers. If we wish to sell agricultural implements to lands where they use the machete instead of the plough, we must make the best machetes possible and they will win for themselves a market. I seriously think that study of the foreign marts and needs by our manufacturers now would be much more profitable than our contemplation of the political horizon of China in which we are not apt to have a part.

Let us inquire a little further into the so-called open and closed-door policies of the European nations in the far East. These are merely the old questions of protection and free trade. Nations endeavor to expand their territory for the benefit of commerce and national development. When territory comes under the protection of the French, the Italian, the German, or any other flag than the English flag, the protective policy of the respective countries will be put in force. It is alleged that the closed door or protection policy is a subterfuge of the weak, a relic of the barbaric days of civilization. We are told that if the European nations secure

China all of them except England will monopolize it to our exclusion and slam the door of trade in our faces. There is much needless alarm in this subject. There has been much more noise than action and much more fright than fact. It is largely the old cry of wolf! uttered by a sister nation which is more interested in the question than we and whose interests are more endangered than our own. This is nothing more than the policy which we ourselves have practiced against all other nations for many years. It is true that from a higher theoretical point of view this "closed door" policy is less desirable than that of the open door. It is oftentimes an irritating and from a humanitarian point of view an extremely selfish policy. But we certainly occupy an anomalous position when we stand for the open door abroad and the closed door at home.

Instead of becoming panic-stricken by the prospect of the trade of China being placed under the protective policy of European nations, we should contemplate more calmly what the effects of such action will be. The nations engaged in this division have been enforcing this same policy against us in Europe for years. In all European countries except Great Britain the doors of trade are as tightly closed against us as they are or will be in China. Yet in some manner our trade has managed to pass their protective barriers and they collectively consume nearly one-half our products. The Germans in Europe consume \$124,000,000 worth, or fifteen times as much as the Chinese; France, \$56,000,000; Belgium, \$32,000,000; Netherlands, \$50,000,000; Italy, \$21,000,000 and Russia \$8,000,000. These are all closed-door countries and yet Italy, our next smallest customer among them, with its population of 32,000,000, consumes twice as much of our products as China with its 400,000,000 people. In other words each Italian subject is worth to our trade as much as twelve Chinamen in their present condition.

We do not get a dollar's worth of trade from Europe or any other land that prejudice and intention would not prevent if it could. What is true for Europe is true for China. China will never take from us that which we cannot supply better and cheaper than other nations. In her present deplorable state she will never take much more from us than she now takes and our only hope of increased trade with her lies in the betterment of her civilization.

What the future political relations of the United States will be in the affairs of the far East no one can prophesy. Protection of trade and subjects is the duty of the nation. Our commercial interests do not necessarily involve or necessitate political complications such as the expansion of our territory beyond what has already been acquired as a result of the war with Spain. Public opinion in this country does not desire that the United States should acquire one foot of Chinese territory. Of necessity our policy must be one of drift and observation.

For the present we can only jealously guard such rights as we have acquired and be prepared to avail ourselves of all future opportunities, endeavoring through diplomacy to maintain such friendly political relations as will secure equal rights for our goods in competition with those of other nations and the protection of the interests of our citizens who seek investment there.

This country within the past few years has made some notable commercial conquests without the acquirement of territory or the suggestion thereof. We have commercially invaded Mexico and become supreme in that field of trade, forcing our goods into her markets which were previously hostile and securing business opportunities of incalculable value. In South Africa, a country which a few years ago seemed more hopeless as a field of trade than the far East, we have found a grand market for our food stuffs and our machinery.

The interests of the United States in the far East will be protected and benefited by the friendly relations which we hold with the two greatest countries now engaged in partitioning China. Both Russia and England hold us to most cordial relations and neither country would dare to discriminate against us in any unusual or unjust way. Both desire to retain our friendship and under these amicable conditions there is great diplomatic opportunity for us.

Every foot of the outer world thus far acquired by England has been to our benefit. Although our chief competitor in the manufacture of textiles, ship-building, etc., this country is nearest to us in blood and ideals and to-day England is one of our chief customers, taking nearly fifty per cent of all that we send abroad. She takes over half of our European exports. Our British neighbors on the north consume twice as much of our products as the rest of North America and more of South America combined. British

Oceanica takes nearly as much from us as China and Japan combined, while we send to the British in Africa three times as much as we do to all the other people of the dark continent. It is but natural that our sympathies should lead us to desire that as much of China as possible should fall under English rule.

## DISCUSSION.

JOHN FOORD, ESQ., *New York City, Secretary, American Asiatic Association.*

I have been profoundly impressed with the ability and industry displayed in the preparation of the papers to which we have just listened, and I must pay a special tribute of respect to the earnest intention of their authors to set before you, fairly and impartially, the conditions affecting our commercial relations with the far East. But the fact can hardly have escaped you that the main lines of argument which these papers follow are mutually destructive, and to that extent have relieved me of saying a good deal in reply that might, otherwise, have been necessary. Mr. Ford takes a discouraging view of the future of our trade with China, because he regards the dismemberment of that empire as inevitable, and Mr. Hill takes an optimistic view of it for precisely the same reason. I am in entire agreement with Mr. Ford that our Chinese trade would be a diminishing instead of an increasing quantity if China is to be partitioned into spheres of commercial influence, in most of which we should encounter a hostile tariff, and in all of which there would be a pressure, silently but constantly exercised, in favor of other merchandise than our own. I disagree absolutely with Mr. Hill, and therein I think I voice the sentiments of all Americans who have trade relations with the far East, in assuming that no matter what may be the commercial policy of the powers to whom the control of the Celestial Empire will pass, we should succeed not only in holding our own there, but in greatly increasing our present average of business, simply because of the transformation that the dominance of any form of European civilization would effect in that mass of humanity which we call China. The experience of Madagascar is too recent in the business of our manufacturers and exporters of cotton textiles, to admit of any illusions on that point. Here was a trade in which a most promising beginning had been made in 1897, with exports, chiefly in drills and sheetings, of some \$550,000, but which one year of French sovereignty, with its accompanying tariff and other methods of exclusion has completely wiped out. I don't think we should have any better chance with the French "sphere" in China, than we have now in Madagascar; I doubt if we should fare much better in the German "sphere," and if we held on to our cotton trade in North China, in spite of the application of a Russian tariff, it would only be till the protected and bounty-fed Moscow manufacturer was able to produce for eleven cents what we are ready to sell for

seven cents. A differential of 60 per cent is quite too high a burden on trade to give the producer against whom it operated much of an opportunity.

But I take issue both with Mr. Ford and Mr. Hill in assuming the dismemberment of China to be inevitable. That seems to me to be taking something for granted which we cannot possibly allow to be taken for granted, in short, it seems like begging the whole question at issue. The partition of China among the great powers of the earth, and the consequent girdling of the Chinese coast with a rampart of foreign custom houses, involves certain questions which the people of the United States have not yet passed upon, and which will be answered pretty much as these people may choose to direct. In other words, if the people of this republic make up their minds that the partition of China would be contrary to their interests, the partition of China will not take place.

Let us clearly understand the situation as it exists to-day: There are two great powers, Russia and France, whose interests impel them to work for the division of China into zones of exclusive commercial influence, if not into zones of actual political and military control. Neither of these nations produces anything which China needs, in great quantity at least, which cannot be more cheaply produced by its rivals. An open market in China, therefore, means for them next to no market at all, and their influence is necessarily thrown on the side of fencing off markets by the aid of a protective wall of customs duties. There is a third great power whose citizens have shown their ability to hold their own in the commercial competition of the world, but whose attitude in China may best be described as that of waiting to see how the cat is going to jump. On what must be called a frivolous pretext, Germany obtained a footing in Shantung, in the shape of a lease of the land around the entrance of Kiaochau Bay—an acquisition which Herr Von Brandt has euphemistically described as a place in the sunshine by the side of others who are basking in it. The same authority—a former German Minister to China—says: "Far from wishing to restrict the area within which foreign trade and industry can and ought to flourish in China, she (Germany) will ever advocate the maintenance and extension of commercial relations with the Chinese Empire—not to the exclusion of others, but for the general benefit of humanity. And there is no reason why she should not co-operate to that end with any power animated by the same wishes and aspirations." It must be admitted, however, that Germany stands for equality of commercial opportunity in China with a difference, since she has cautiously reserved for her own manufacturers and capitalists the exclusive right to construct railroads, work mines, and, generally speaking, develop the resources of a province half the size of Prussia and a third

more populous. Per contra, Kiaochau has been declared a free port.

If there be any doubt as to which side the interests of Germany impel her to take in the struggle to keep the door open to commerce in China, there can be none as to the position which traditional policy and present needs alike require England to occupy. It is quite probable that there are Englishmen of light and leading, both in the political and commercial world, who regard, like my friend, Mr. Ford, the partition of China as inevitable and who are, therefore, resigned to the necessity of at once marking out the English sphere of influence and making preparations to defend it against all comers. But it remains as true to-day, as it was a year ago, when the Duke of Devonshire made the declaration in the House of Lords, "that the principle, and the sole principle, which Her Majesty's Government have had in view in their dealings with China—the principle which has actuated both their declarations at home and their communications with foreign powers—has been that China should remain open to commerce as now, that the facilities at present possessed by British subjects for trading in China and for the employment of British capital in China should not be diminished, but should rather be increased, and that no facilities, no concessions in these directions, which may be made to other powers, should be denied to British subjects." It may be, as Mr. Ford says, that not one of the foreign nations who occupy positions around the coast of China has any interest in maintaining the integrity of the empire "unless such maintenance can prevent rivals from securing more than a fair share of the spoils." But there is much significance in that "unless," and it would seem to be hardly necessary to assume that the desire to secure a fair share of the trade of China must fall under the same ban as a desire to secure this trade plus a slice of territory. The spoil of military aggression is not precisely the same thing as the fruits of open commercial competition, even if the freedom of that competition has to be assured by a display of superior force.

And here, let me say, that Mr. Hill does not seem correctly to apprehend how much freedom commerce enjoys in China to-day. There is no "Chinese Wall," in his sense of the phrase, and one by one the obstacles which have been interposed to trade in the interior of the empire are disappearing. Viewed from one side, there are many and irritating obstructions to anything like free commercial exchange between the foreign merchant and the people of China, but, considering how hard and fast must be the hold of tradition over an empire that has long outlived all the ancient civilizations of the world, perhaps the wonder should be, not that the process of change is slow

and difficult in China, but that it has gone on of late years with such rapidity. The Chinese tariff is a uniform *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent, payable in silver, and that is a very trifling burden on commerce compared with the tariff which Russia, France or Germany would impose, when the time came to convert a sphere of influence into a sphere of sovereignty. So far as our treaty rights are concerned, we stand on precisely the same footing as these powers do in China to-day—we enjoy the equality of commercial opportunity known as the “open door,” and under such conditions we have no misgivings about the future of our trade. But if there is to be dismemberment, we can have neither part nor lot in it; we have everything to lose and nothing to gain by the division of the empire. We might profit by the liberal policy of Great Britain within what would naturally be her sphere, though that is not where we have had most trade up to the present time; but elsewhere our trade would be at the mercy of whatever discriminating tariff might be declared against it.

“Is it consistent,” asks Mr. Hill, “to stand for the open door abroad while maintaining a closed door at home?” It is a habit of English-speaking people not to trouble themselves much about the logical sequence of any line of public policy. For reasons sufficient to themselves, the people of the United States have adopted a protective tariff for the better development of their domestic industries. When they find sufficient reason to dispense with this tariff, it will go like the scaffolding of a completed building, which has served its purpose. There are some of us who think that most of the protective features of the tariff might be dispensed with now, but I take it that our individual views on that subject have nothing to do with the demand that everybody should occupy the same commercial footing in China. That is a matter also which vitally concerns our interests, and while we can have nothing to say about the efforts of Russia, France and Germany to imitate our protective policy at home, we have the clearest possible right to lodge a protest against the application of their domestic tariff to a country in which they have no more rights than are possessed by ourselves.

I must, therefore, doubly take exception to Mr. Ford's phrase about the United States being pitched unexpectedly into this “circle of marauding powers.” I am not concerned with the defence of British policy in China, except in so far as it appears to be the only policy that the United States can support, and it may thus be proper to discriminate between a power that takes a naval station in Chinese waters as a base for the dismemberment of the empire, and one that takes a station opposite it for the purpose of preventing that dismemberment. Then, as to the unexpectedness of our position in China; is it not a

fact that we were face to face with precisely the same problems which present themselves to-day, before there was any thought of taking Manila and possessing ourselves of the Philippines? I admit that had we no interests in China, the possession of the Philippines would be meaningless, but the Chinese question came before the Philippine, not after it, either in time or logical sequence. In December, 1897, it became evident that a situation had been created under which the trade and treaty rights secured by the United States in China might be seriously imperilled. These had already been adversely affected by the agreement made in regard to the Russo-Manchurian Railway, in which it was provided that "goods imported from Russia into China by rail and exported from China to Russia in the same manner shall pay respectively an import or export Chinese duty to the extent of one-third less as compared with the duty imposed at Chinese seaport custom houses." That must be held to be in clear contravention of the provision of the treaty of 1844 which reads: "Citizens of the United States resorting to China for the purpose of commerce will pay the duties of import and export prescribed in the tariff which is fixed by and made part of this treaty. They shall in no case be subject to other or higher duties than are or shall be required of the people of any other nation whatever, and if additional advantages and privileges of whatever description be conceded hereafter by China to any other nation the United States and the citizens thereof shall be entitled thereupon to a complete, equal and impartial participation in the same."

The existing status had been further threatened by the virtual supremacy of Russia in Manchuria and the Liaotung peninsula and the consequent danger that the treaty port of Newchwang—more than half of whose imports of cotton textiles come from the United States—might at any time be declared a part of the Russian Empire, and therefore subject to its tariff. In short, the beginnings were only too obvious of a process of alienation of sovereignty under which the whole of North China might pass under the dominion of the Czar. As it happens that 80 per cent of all the cotton drills, and over 90 per cent of all the sheetings which the United States exports to China, find their way to the three northern treaty ports of Tientsin, Chefoo and Newchwang, this was a process to which the manufacturing interests of our country could hardly be indifferent. The first body to take action in regard to the threatening situation in China was the New York Chamber of Commerce, to which a very largely signed petition had been addressed, calling upon the chamber "to take such immediate action in the premises as may be deemed expedient and proper, to the end that the present situation may be brought to the

attention of the Department of State at Washington, and that the important interests of the United States, together with existing treaty rights of its citizens in China, may be duly and promptly further safeguarded." At its meeting in February, 1898, the New York Chamber of Commerce addressed a memorial to the President of the United States in which it was set forth that the trade of the United States with China is rapidly increasing, and is destined with the further opening of that country to assume large proportions, unless arbitrarily debarred by the action of foreign governments. In view of the changes threatening the future development of this trade, the chamber respectfully and earnestly urged that such proper steps be taken as might commend themselves to the wisdom of the President, "for the prompt and energetic defence of the existing treaty rights of our citizens in China, and for the preservation and protection of their important commercial interests in that empire." Similar action was taken by the Chambers of Commerce of Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco, and the whole subject of American interests in the far East was fairly lifted into the place of commercial and public importance which it is so fully entitled to occupy.

That fateful first of May, when Dewey's guns destroyed constructions more antique than Spanish men-of-war, did undoubtedly give to the people of the United States a new sense of their nearness to the scene of the strife of international ambitions in the far East, and probably brought home to them a new perception of the impossibility of remaining indifferent to the issue of that struggle. But it did not make manifest, for the first time, the fact that no question of our generation is of such vital moment for the present and future welfare of the American people as this of the preservation of equality of opportunity in a market comprising one-fourth of the entire human race. "We must have a market or we shall have revolution," is Senator Frye's blunt way of stating that the productive capacity of the country has so far outrun its capacity to consume that a foreign outlet for our surplus products is an absolute necessity to the peaceful growth of the republic. This brings us to a consideration of what is, perhaps, the main question: What is the value of China as a market? The experience of the past affords but a slender test of that value. And yet there has been, of late years, a very considerable expansion of our export trade with China. Between 1887 and 1897 there was an increase of 121 per cent in the quantity and of 59½ in the value of our cotton fabrics which that market absorbed. In the same period the imports of American kerosene oil into China increased from 13,613,090 gallons to 48,212,505 gallons. In 1887 the imports of plain gray and white cotton piece goods from the United States

into China represented  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in quantity and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in value of the whole importation of the year; in 1897 the proportion had advanced to  $29\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in quantity and 33 per cent in value. That this trade is a steadily increasing one is shown by the reports of the Bureau of Statistics for the first eight months of the current fiscal year, from which it appears that while the export to China for the corresponding period of 1897 was 85,351,867 yards of cotton cloth valued at \$4,828,852, it was, from the first of July to the twenty-eighth of February last, 135,604,310 yards, valued at \$6,080,355—an increase in two years of 59 per cent in quantity and 27 per cent in value. These figures ought to be a sufficient answer to Mr. Ford's question: "How can cotton goods of the United States make other than a limited market in Asia against the cottons of India, Japan and China?" As a matter of fact, in cotton drills and sheetings the market of North China is already ours, to have and to hold, without any effective competition whatever.

But it is the testimony of every one who has studied the question on the spot that only the surface of this market has been scratched. Mr. Ford quotes a statement of the members of the Blackburn Mission as to the poverty of the Chinese, but he does not quote their general conclusion: "China's trade possibilities are immeasurable. The sparing use and non-presence of foreign commodities are warrant enough of future expansion, if a policy could be adopted which shall open up the entire country to the advantages of unrestricted commercial intercourse." Mr. Ford says that instead of wanting cottons, China will utilize her own resources, but forgets the shrewd comment of the men from Blackburn: "The establishment of permanent industries need not cause us too much alarm. They must be understood as meaning a source of regular income by which the purchasing power of the people is increased, and as powerful factors in that development by which in the long run we shall most assuredly profit." Mr. Ford quotes Colquhoun to show that the commerce of Hong Kong with Europe exhibits a tendency to decrease, but fails to quote his judgment on the whole commercial situation in China: "What the utilization of China would mean can only be realized by a full appreciation of the extraordinary resources of that country judged from various points of view. She has the men to create armies and navies; the materials, especially iron and coal, requisite for the purpose of railways and steam navigation; all the elements in fact to build up a great living force. One thing alone is wanting—the will, the directing power—which, absent from within, is now being applied from without . . . . And when it is understood that not merely the soil, rich and fertile, but that the mineral resources—the greatest, perhaps,

in the world—are as yet practically untouched, the merest surface being scratched; when we consider the extent of China's population; the ability and enterprise, and, above all, the intense vitality of the people, as strong as ever after four millenniums; when we reflect on the general characteristics of the race, is it not clear that the Chinese, under direction, are destined to dominate the whole of Eastern Asia, and maybe to play a leading part in the affairs of the world?"

To that estimate scores might be added to prove the fallacy of Mr. Ford's idea that China is a "decayed and decaying empire." The phrase might be justly applied to the ruling class of China, though the recent reform movement so abruptly repressed by the Empress Dowager shows that the elements of change are working even in high places. Nor does Mr. Ford correctly apprehend the possibilities of the Chinaman when he speaks of him as hopelessly bigoted and a hater of all progress. All who have studied his character agree with Colquhoun that, though clannish and conservative, the Chinaman is remarkably free from prejudice, religious or political, especially in matters of tangible interest. He has no objection to purchasing the article which he judges to be cheapest and best, wherever it may come from; or, as Bourne remarks, "the Chinaman has everywhere a taste for luxury; he may be trusted to buy luxuries to the full extent of his means. It is this quality which will some day make the foreign trade of China of gigantic dimensions."

Here, then, is great empire, awakening from the slumber of centuries, and over which the age of steam and electricity has, so far, passed without transforming it, waiting to be equipped with all that constitutes the appliances of modern civilization. It possesses the greatest coal deposits in the world, and yet its transport facilities are so crude that anthracite, which costs thirty-three cents per ton among the hills at the mine at Pingting-chau, costs \$17 at the entrance to the plain, after being carried eighty miles on the back of asses—an addition of twenty cents per ton per mile to the original cost. Labor is cheap among these Chinese millions, but the product of labor is dear, because the effectiveness of the man plus the machine has not been developed. Nowhere else in the world is there such a reservoir of untouched wealth as in China, side by side with an industrious and docile population ready, under proper direction, to utilize it. The great nations of the world are pressing forward to get their share of the rich returns which will attend the opening up of the resources of China. Here, as elsewhere, there is no longer any international politics, in the old sense of the term; the diplomatic questions of the hour relate, simply and solely, to international trade. Mr. Ford asks: "How can American iron and steel enter markets held to be closed by

European countries, each one of which wishes to keep for its own people the construction of the railroads, the building and running of steam vessels and the profits of the custom house?" But suppose that the United States serves a notice on the European countries which would like to divide China between them that it has treaty rights there, any infringement of which would be regarded as much a hostile act as if it were an attack upon its territory? Do you suppose that with this new and formidable accession to the support of the policy of the open door in China there would be any likelihood of the policy of commercial exclusion being pushed to the limit?

It is, therefore, somewhat beside the question to inquire what is to happen when each port is under a different head, and competing with one another after the fashion peculiar to five rival governments, because the very essence of the contention is that it rests with the Government of the United States to prevent precisely that eventuality. There are lions in the path, no doubt; there always are in the way of national progress. But if we are to turn aside from the path, plainly marked out for us in the natural line of commercial advance, because of certain traditions of foreign policy, which we are asked to regard as no less sacred than the Constitution of the United States, then we must, perforce, make up our minds to be content with the sphere of national growth for which the purely continental policy was avowedly adopted. At a time when Shanghai is nearer San Francisco than New Orleans used to be to New York, it would seem to be necessary to expand the diplomacy of our grandfathers and frankly to recognize that it is quite as essential to the well-being of the United States of to-day that China should remain an open market, as it was seventy years ago that the colonial system of Europe should not take a new hold on the Republics of Central and South America.

There is nothing insoluble in what is called the problem of internal taxation in China which so many people find to be an insuperable obstacle to the expansion of international trade. The one valid asset which the Chinese Empire offers to-day to the foreign lender is the income of the imperial maritime customs, administered for these many years by an Englishman, Sir Robert Hart, and administered without the slightest taint of "squeeze" or discrimination. The internal transit tax—the likin—has been and is a fruitful source of corruption, but in several provinces its collection has already been transferred to the control of the maritime customs, and the same methods will be applied as hitherto governed the collection of tariff duties. It may be safely asserted that the results will justify, and probably facilitate, the further extension of foreign control over the most important part of the internal tax system of the empire.

If we are to deal with China as the ward of civilization, and not as a carcass over which the vultures of military aggression may struggle, a good many difficulties that now appear insuperable will disappear before the united and vigorous action of the Powers enlisted in the cause of peaceful progress. The main question is, shall the United States be a party to this work of progressive civilization in China, or shall it respond to the call for aid with a helpless *non possumus*, because the fathers were wise enough to construct a formula admirably suited to their time, which their sons are not courageous enough to adapt to the larger demands of a different age?

DR. W. P. WILSON, *Director of the Commercial Museum,  
Philadelphia.*

I am going to confine my remarks to just two points, and will be brief, as I can say, with Mr. Foord, that most of the arguments have been presented on both.

The first point is this: I am going to quote a sentence from Mr. Hill's paper which I believe to be the keynote of the securing of all foreign trade: "Expansion of export trade depends upon individual exertion."

Just to give you one or two points on that. We know very well the extensive and aggressive line of cotton manufacture that has taken place in England, and, as our manufacturing interests have grown up, it would not naturally be supposed that we would have a great cotton export trade, especially in England or the Continent, so closely situated to the greatest cotton manufacturing country in the world.

In Philadelphia there exists a progressive cotton manufacturing plant, which in one particular line has secured an extremely large trade in both London and Paris.

There has been a great deal said, in the papers at least, and in discussions that have taken place recently in New York and elsewhere, toward stirring up this question of the Oriental trade, with reference to Japan and China, and the danger, as these two countries become more civilized and more active in manufactures, of fulfilling their own needs in their own manufactures. I want to give you just one point with reference to that; I want to say that I feel there is not the slightest danger of that and that the trade we shall secure in the Orient depends upon individual effort.

In 1889 we exported to England nearly thirty-two million dollars' (\$32,000,000) worth of manufactured goods. In 1898 we exported to England seventy-four millions (\$74,000,000) of manufactured goods. Now in all this time England had become more and more active in her own lines of manufacture, and we, as a growing manufacturing nation had more than doubled our export of manufactured goods into England.

The same with Germany. She has come to an immense period of activity in manufacturing, overtopping England in many markets of the world; taking away from England, in many lines of manufacture, her prestige; and within the last year and a half being the cause of a meeting called by Mr. Chamberlain to examine into the whole question of why British trade was declining, and why Germany, the United States and other countries were taking her place to a certain extent.

## COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE FAR EAST. 155

To Germany in 1878 we exported sixteen and one-half million (\$16,500,000) dollars' worth of manufactured goods and products. In 1898 we had doubled that. We sent over to her thirty-two millions seven hundred thousand dollars' (\$32,700,000) worth of manufactured goods right in the face of her activity. I say that was due almost absolutely to individual effort and individual study of the market of Germany, and the needs there. They manufacture what they need. We manufacture it a little better, a little finer, put little touches here and there which take the market. And that is what we shall have to do all over the world.

It has been the same with France. In 1889 we sent over a little over five million dollars' worth of manufactured goods and in 1898 nearly twenty-four millions right in the face of her activities. One item we sent into Paris was Turkish towels, manufactured in Philadelphia. Why? Because we manufactured a finer grade than they manufacture in any of the mills of England.

To Belgium in 1889 we sent nearly three millions' worth. In 1898 we sent over nine millions (9,000,000). See the progress.

I simply bring out these points to show that the markets of the Orient are ours if we will study them, and if individual effort is made to capture them. They are not ours unless we go to them. I had prepared a little more in that line, but I am going to let that go.

One word on the Philippines, and the work of those islands. In the first place I believe these new territorial provinces, that, I do not want to say we are acquiring, but which are under our care at the present time, are doing a great deal of missionary work for us.

We are all perfectly well aware of the fact that we are not, as formerly, carrying our own goods abroad. I think we all feel a little ashamed of that. Forty years ago 90 per cent of our manufactures were going abroad in our own bottoms. At the present moment only 20 per cent is carried by our own ships. I wonder if any one has stopped to think of the cause of this, or of the revenue paid to England and Germany for carrying our goods.

Last year three hundred million dollars were paid to foreign shipping interests to carry our exports to Europe and elsewhere. That is nine millions more than the manufactures which we sent over to Europe amounted to.

We sent abroad, all told, last year twelve hundred and forty-eight million dollars' worth of manufactured and raw products, and out of that we sent over to Europe, about, I believe, two hundred and ninety-one millions, but the cost of our shipping from this country, which was outside of our own shipping, was over three hundred millions.

Now the point I want to make there is this: We have broadened

out wonderfully since we have possessed a little interest in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. We are actually sending our own transports and ships to the Philippines, and carrying the mail, and are about carrying our goods to the near West India Islands. It is to be hoped that we will develop a habit of doing that, of studying the necessities of the trade with different parts of the world, and of building our own ships and doing our own shipping. It is to be hoped we shall remove the obstructive laws that have taken all our shipping off the seas. I think the acquiring of the Philippine Islands and other provinces will be a missionary work in the study of the question.

Again, did you ever think of the cost to us—what we pay for not having foreign banks in the countries where we do business? London is the centre of a banking system which has branches in every quarter of the globe, and Great Britain pays tribute to nobody. We pay tribute in doing business with England of about one-half of 1 per cent, and we paid out a great many million dollars last year for the privilege of doing our banking business through London. I am in hopes that this acquisition of territory will be a missionary effort in this direction. We will have our own banks in Porto Rico, Cuba and possibly in the Philippines, and this experience may give us a leaning in that direction, for as soon as we begin to study the question practically we will see how much money we are losing.

I believe the Philippine Islands will be of great advantage to us as a distributing centre for the Eastern trade. With the eight or nine hundred millions of inhabitants that border around the Orient, and the seven hundred and seventy-five millions of export material that goes in there, we furnish only forty millions. It looks as if we were now about to have our opportunity, and if we put individual interest into it, there is no reason why we should not, at least, take our share of it from Great Britain, Germany and Belgium, and have three or four hundred millions instead of forty.

I believe that the Philippine Islands will take us over and lead us to do that.

The Philippine Islands themselves I believe to be immensely valuable. There is no richer spot on the face of the globe, covering, as it does, an area equal to New England, New York and Pennsylvania. It is wholly tropical; everything can be cultivated there that can be cultivated in any tropical country. The main products of the islands can be increased a hundredfold with the use of the arts and appliances of civilization. It would be amusing if I should give you some of the methods in which sugar is raised and manufactured in the Philippines, and I doubt whether, if the sugar was not entirely changed in the process of refining, you would want to eat any of it.

Fifteen or twenty years ago the Philippine Islands raised a great many million dollars' worth of coffee. To-day, or last year, only twenty-four thousand dollars' worth of coffee got outside of the Philippines. That is one of the most promising crops that might be raised in those islands. It would be just as valuable as the coffee of Java had the islands been peopled with an intelligent people capable of coping with the disasters which in every country come to crops. The coffee crop of the Philippines was entirely ruined by an insect, and it has been practically given up. The only crop encouraged by the Spaniards was tobacco, out of which they made a great revenue. Cotton-growing would also be extremely profitable. Manila hemp is perhaps the leading crop at the present moment from which we receive four or five million dollars a year, and which, if properly cultivated and properly studied, and the quality improved, could be made tenfold more valuable than now.

I want to state that I believe that the foothold we have obtained in the Orient will lead us to study the whole question. We will introduce civilized methods into those islands which will bring out the value—put our own sugar machinery in for that which is one hundred and fifty years old, antiquated and useless, introduce our own economic plans and ideas, and in that way increase the output and quality, and in time make one of the most valuable spots on the face of the globe of the Philippine Islands. At the same time being in the Orient, studying the whole question of foreign trade there, which is an individual study, based on individual effort, we will be able to take from other nations, not so active, perhaps, part of their trade, and as China and Japan grow in civilization, and need ten, or a hundred or a thousand fold of the civilized products they now need, we shall be on the ground ready and able to supply those needs.

Professor E. R. JOHNSON, *University of Pennsylvania.*

The purpose of this session of the American Academy is to discuss our commercial prospects in the East and the factors affecting them. The Hawaiian and Philippine Islands are factors that will influence our Pacific trade, but they are only two of many forces and a consideration of their influence is incidental rather than fundamental to the discussion in hand. These two groups of newly-acquired island possessions are attracting so much attention at the present time that we are in danger of making the double mistake of overestimating the commercial importance of the islands and of neglecting to study other and possibly more important factors that are to affect our Pacific trade.

In criticism of Mr. Ford's paper I would say that I sympathize with the general spirit and method of his study. There are so many loose and exaggerated statements current regarding the prospective expansion of our Pacific trade and the quickening influences that our new possessions are to exert that we need to have our assertions subjected to critical analysis, and Mr. Ford is a master of that art. However the man who loves analysis strongly may neglect synthesis; and I think Mr. Ford's study does not construct so many castles of hope as the facts warrant us in building. I shall endeavor to illustrate this by criticising one point in the paper.

From his survey of the industrial and commercial conditions, present and probable, of China, Mr. Ford concludes that China will increase her exports largely, but that she will not have occasion to import much, and of what she does import we shall have but a small share. As he says "Of the imports into China, cotton goods hold the first place, opium the second, rice the third and metal manufactures and mineral oils are of equal importance, as fourth and fifth on the list. In no one item of this enumeration has the United States a natural monopoly; and in only one (petroleum) has it a partial monopoly, fast being impaired; and in two (rice and petroleum) it has and can have no share." These statements are true, and they seem to predict a sorry place for us in Chinese markets, but possibly they do not present the whole of the case. I think there is probably a stronger prospect than this picture indicates that American manufacturers will be able for some time to come to sell cottons and metal wares in China in competition with rival producers; of that however I will not speak; but will consider the probability of our being able to find larger markets for our food products in China. Is there reason to

expect that Japan, China and Eastern Asia will furnish a considerable market for American cereals?

The answer to this question must depend in part upon whether China is or is not going to pass through an industrial revolution. I agree with Mr. Ford that there is every indication that "China will not remain as she is. France, Germany, Italy, England, Russia—these nations have gone to Asia for a purpose. They intend to build railroads, open and develop mines, establish industries, and secure all they can from a careful attention to encouraging competition on Asiatic conditions."

Mr. Ford also expects that China will manufacture largely and import but small quantities. He says: "In place of wanting cottons, products of iron and steel, or other metals, or rice, China will utilize her own resources. This may be a work of time, but under the stimulus of so many competitors it will not require many years to bring it to pass. Every ton of iron, of copper or of tin wrought into metal ware in China; every pound of wool or of cotton, or of silk made into cloth in the provinces, will reduce the necessity of importing them from other countries."

As regards one thing all observers of what is going on in the East are agreed; China is going to be controlled by occidental nations, and her natural resources of great value and variety are to be exploited. Concerning the development of textile manufacturing industries in China the future is not quite so certain; but the present indications are, as Mr. Ford suggests, that there are to be many cotton mills established in China. If the coal and iron and other mineral resources of China are exploited—of course it will be by native labor—and if a considerable portion of the population becomes engaged in manufacturing, certain results are certain to follow; population will increase in numbers, the percentage of the population devoted to the production of foods will decrease, and the necessity for importing food will increase. China is now a large importer of food—rice being third in the list of imports; in the future she will be obliged to import more largely. China is now such a thickly settled country that these industrial changes must place her in the list of nations that depend upon foreign countries for a considerable portion of their food supply.

Is this imported food going to consist exclusively or mainly of rice? If so, then we shall not share in China's food imports very largely, at least in the proximate future. So far as I know the Oriental has no antipathy to wheat and other cereals of the temperate zone. He eats rice because it is his natural domestic crop. During the past five years our sales of wheat flour have doubled in Hong Kong, have more than doubled on the continent of Asia and have nearly quadrupled in

Japan. May not these facts be accepted as a portent of much larger sales in the future when the economic progress of the Orient is once well under way? The economic and social changes of the people of the East will be accompanied by modifications and greater variety in their wants and their general standards of living. Furthermore, the fact that the industrial and social changes are to come about under European and occidental leadership will tend to enlarge the demand for the food products of the temperate zone.

I think Mr. Ford underestimates the dynamic qualities of the individual Chinaman. He says, in contrasting the Chinese and Japanese: "A mere comparison of commercial details develops the distinction between Japan and China—a living and pushing people, and a decayed and dying empire." And he also says in another connection: "The character of the two peoples is different, and the Japanese have much higher organizing powers."

The Chinaman and the Chinese Empire have very different characteristics. The political institutions of the country are crumbling from the dry rot of ultra-conservatism and official corruption. The government seems practically incapable of change for the better; but not so the individual Chinaman. He travels freely, he is a willing and industrious artisan, and possesses to a considerable degree the power to avail himself of economic opportunities. It is true that the Japanese possess higher organizing powers; but in the economic and social changes to transpire in China the Occident is to supply the organizing needs of the Chinese. There are, in my opinion, good reasons for expecting the Chinaman to vary his wants and become an important importer. I have attempted to show one of the ways in which we are likely to participate in supplying his wants.

The Political Relations of the  
United States with the  
Far East.

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Addresses.



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INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.  
A REVIEW OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN THE  
FAR EAST.

By the Honorable JOHN BASSETT MOORE, *Columbia  
University.*

From the foundation of our government the energy and enterprise that distinguish the American character have impelled our merchants, in spite of unrivaled opportunities at home, to seek in the markets of the world an extension of their commerce. "Before the war of independence," said Mr. Jefferson, in a report made by him as secretary of state, "about one-sixth of the wheat and flour exported from the United States, and about one-fourth in value of their dried and pickled fish, and some rice, found their best markets in the Mediterranean;" and among the earliest negotiations undertaken after our independence was established were those for commercial treaties with the countries bordering on that sea. When, in 1821, the Emperor of Russia issued a ukase by which it was proposed to inhibit the right of navigation and of fishing along a vast extent of coast bordering on the Pacific Ocean, John Quincy Adams, as secretary of state, replied: "The United States can admit no part of these claims. Their right of navigation and of fishing is perfect, and has been in constant exercise from the earliest times, after the peace of 1783." And when, in 1823, the Monroe Doctrine was announced, one of its declared objects was to prevent the extension in any part of the American continents of the colonial system under which foreign commerce was restricted and excluded. Such was the policy of the United States. It sought in the commerce of the world an equality of opportunity. Its object, as tersely expressed in the recent negotiations at Paris with

reference to the Philippines, was "to maintain an open door to the world's commerce."

But while our commerce with Europe and Africa, and along the shores of America, north and south, was fostered and protected, our intercourse with the East was not neglected. In the early part of this century, after the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America against the rule of Spain, a trade was carried on by American merchants between those countries and Asia, in addition to that which was conducted directly between the United States and the East. With its growth, our trade with Oriental countries attracted more and more the attention and solicitude of our government. In 1832 Edmund Roberts, a sea captain of Portsmouth, N. H., was chosen by President Jackson as an "agent for the purpose of examining in the Indian Ocean the means of extending the commerce of the United States by commercial arrangements with the powers whose dominions border on those seas;" and he was empowered to negotiate for the extension of the commerce of the United States in the Pacific. In March, 1833, he concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with Siam.

Roberts was followed by other agents of our government, who were sent on similar missions. Expeditions were dispatched for purposes of exploration and negotiation. A determined effort was made to break down the seclusion of the East, and a show of force was not deemed an inappropriate mode of disclosing the design.

An important step forward was taken when, on March 3, 1843, an act was approved by which Congress placed forty thousand dollars "at the disposal of the President . . . to enable him to establish the future commercial relations between the United States and the Chinese Empire on terms of national equal reciprocity." In the following May Caleb Cushing, one of the ablest and most accomplished diplomatists whom our country has produced, was appointed envoy extraordinary, minister plenipotentiary and commis-

sioner to China, for the purpose of carrying this act into effect. On July 3, 1844, he concluded with that empire a general convention of peace, amity and commerce, by which the intercourse between the two countries was regulated and placed on a certain foundation.

By this treaty it was stipulated that citizens of the United States, resorting to China for the purposes of commerce, should pay the duties of import and export prescribed in a tariff thereto annexed, and that they should in no case be subject to other or higher duties than should be required of the people of any other nation. Five ports were opened, not only to the trade, but also to the residence of American citizens. Provision was made for the appointment of consuls.

In 1858 other treaties were concluded, the negotiator on the part of the United States being William B. Reed, a citizen of Philadelphia.

In June, 1861, Anson Burlingame, whose name is also memorably associated with the history of our relations with China, was sent as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to that country. The ancient empire was then passing through a period of civil commotions which seemed to threaten its permanence. In these critical times Burlingame played a prominent and benevolent part. In a dispatch written to Mr. Seward in June, 1863, he said: "In my dispatch No. 18, of June 2, 1862, I had the honor to write, if the treaty powers could agree among themselves on the neutrality of China, and together secure order in the treaty ports, and give their moral support to that party in China in favor of order, the interests of humanity would be subserved. Upon my arrival at Peking I at once elaborated my views, and found, upon comparing them with those held by the representatives of England and Russia, that they were in accord with theirs." In June, 1864, Burlingame, acting in the spirit of his dispatch to Mr. Seward, gave instructions to the consul-general of the United States at

Shanghai as to the "extent of the rights and duties of American citizens under the treaty." These instructions he submitted to the British, French and Russian ministers, who authorized him to state that they met with their approval, both as to general views and as to policy. The policy of the instructions, as expressed by Burlingame himself, was "an effort to substitute fair diplomatic action in China for force." Of this policy Mr. Seward declared: "It is approved with much commendation."

In 1868 Burlingame, who had then resigned from the service of the United States, came to this country, in association with two Chinese officials of high rank, as the representative of the government to which he had lately been accredited. Though it is not usual for governments to receive as diplomatic agents their own citizens, he was cordially welcomed; and on July 28, 1868, he concluded the well-known treaty which has always borne his name.

Since the days of Burlingame, new questions between the two countries have from time to time arisen, as the result of conditions the full development and varying aspects of which could not be foreseen. But, in respect of China, as well as of other countries in the East, it may be said that the Government of the United States has adhered to the policy of endeavoring by "fair diplomatic action" to adjust all differences in conformity with international rights and interests.

But, in the consideration of the situation in the East, it is impossible to concentrate our vision exclusively upon the relations of the United States with the particular governments with which we have contracted treaties in that quarter of the globe. There has existed in respect of the Orient a concert of powers in which, as has been intimated, we have borne an important part, when its object was to maintain the independence and "neutrality" of governments, and by that means to assure equal rights to all the powers concerned. For the disappearance of that concert, if it should disappear,

it is obvious that the United States would not be responsible; but its disappearance would throw upon our government the necessity of considering the means by which the extensive interests that have grown up between our country and the East may be protected, preserved and extended. Our relation to this subject has been rendered more immediate than ever before by events growing out of the war with Spain—events so recent as to require no recapitulation or explanation.

We have with us this evening a distinguished diplomatic representative, who, though a native of the East, may, by reason of his experience, his studies, and his attainments be said to be at home also in the West. It was my pleasure not long ago to hold relations with him in his official character as Minister of China; and it is proper for me to confess that his excellent knowledge of English, while it greatly facilitated our intercourse, rendered me incapable of showing all the reciprocal courtesies which I should have been glad to bestow. An accomplished student of the laws and customs of nations, he is peculiarly well qualified to speak upon the subject on which he is to address us.

## CHINA'S RELATION WITH THE WEST.

*Address of the Chinese Minister, His Excellency WU TING-FANG.*

We have all read about the dispute between two ancient knights over a shield, one claiming it to be gold and the other claiming it to be silver. The story is an old one, but the lesson it teaches is worth remembering. It is the failure to look at the other side of the shield that has given rise to all the misunderstanding in the intercourse between the East and the West. The different nations in the West have, within the present century, advanced so much in science, knowledge and wealth that it has become the fashion to speak of them as the most civilized nations on the face of the earth and to consider the nations in the East as much below them in civilization—in fact, as barbarous or semi-civilized. It has been too much the habit to ignore the good points the Eastern nations possess, and to leave out of account what they have done. This is hardly just. The East also has a civilization of its own. Of that civilization, China is the chief exponent. Among its achievements may be mentioned the invention of the mariners' compass, gunpowder and printing. It is not a civilization of mushroom growth. There is not a nation standing to-day that can trace its history as far back as China. She has witnessed the rise and fall of the ancient Egyptian Dynasties; the expansion of the Persian Empire; the conquests of Alexander; the irresistible advance of the Roman legion; the deluge of Teutonic hordes from the North; the dissolution of the Empire of Charlemagne; and the birth of all the modern nations of Europe. During the forty centuries of her existence there have gradually grown up institutions and laws adapted to the needs and character of the people; a literature as extensive and varied as that of ancient and modern Europe; a system of morality that can

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challenge comparison with any other the world has ever produced; and those useful arts that have never ceased to excite the wonder and admiration of the world. You may ask why Egypt, Persia, Greece, and even mighty Rome have successively succumbed to the ravages of time, while China alone has survived. The answer is not far to seek. It is the survival of the fittest. The working of this inexorable law of nature constantly weeds out those nations that cannot adapt themselves to the ever-changing conditions of life, and the fact that China is standing to-day shows conclusively that she has not outlived her usefulness to the cause of civilization.

Thus Chinese civilization has been weighed in the balance of time and not found wanting. But the conditions that have fostered that civilization have in recent years been greatly modified by steam and electricity. With the Himalayas on the west, vast deserts on the north, and large bodies of water on the east and south, China was a country extremely difficult to approach from all sides in days not very long ago. There she was left for centuries to work out her destiny practically free from outside influence and foreign molestation. But the steamboat and telegraph have changed the whole situation of things, and rendered it impossible for her to lead such a national life as she could before. It has taken her some time to awake to this fact. On this account, she has been called an unprogressive nation. This sentiment is voiced by Tennyson when he says,—  
 "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

But it is a mistake to think that China has been stationary. Compare China of the present day with China of fifty years ago, and the progress she has made will be at once apparent. There is a well-known law in physics that when a body is at rest or in motion, it will remain at rest or continue to move in a straight line unless acted upon by some outside force. This law holds good in the political as well as in the physical world. It is unreasonable to expect

China to break away from the long-established sway of custom in a moment. The inertia of centuries must be first overcome. The meeting of the Chinese and Western civilizations is a meeting of two social forces. We must look for the result not in the complete neutralization of one force by the other, but in the union of the two forces. It is the recovery from the shock of the collision that requires time. After the union of the forces is effected, movement in the resultant direction may be expected to be rapid.

Mechanics also teaches us that if the same force acts for the same period of time upon bodies of different masses, the velocity generated is inversely proportional to their masses. According to this law, when two balls, one weighing twice as much as the other, are thrown from the hand, the heavier one will go only half as far as the other. Now the population of the United States is estimated at 76,000,000, and the population of China is estimated at from 350,000,000 to 400,000,000, or about five times as large. We should expect, therefore, that a social or political movement, which would stir up the whole people of the United States, would, other conditions being equal, produce only one-fifth as much effect upon the people of China. But in order to obtain the same effect in China as in the United States, the force must be five times as great; or, if the force be the same, the time it is allowed to act must be five times as long. Thus for the apparently slow progress of the Chinese nation, we have a scientific explanation.

Though China may not have made very rapid progress from a Western point of view in times past, there are signs everywhere at the present day indicative of a general awakening among the people. We have already established a system of telegraphs which is now in operation in every province of China, and a message can be sent from one thousand miles in the interior to the furthest seaport in a few hours. With regard to the railroad, it was introduced in the north of China fourteen years ago, and I had the honor

of being one of the promoters and directors that organized the first company. Since then it has been extended in different directions. A journey from Tientsin to Peking, which by boat would have taken three or four days a few years ago, can be accomplished now in a few hours. The grand trunk line from north to south is now being rapidly pushed forward, and in the near future a traveler from the extreme south of China will be able to go up by the "iron horse" to Peking in forty-eight hours. Such is also the case with water communication. We have steamers plying along the coast of China, and steamboats of light draught are seen on most of the navigable rivers.

It will be tedious to enumerate all the improvements that have been introduced within the last twenty or thirty years, but from what I have above indicated it is sufficient to show that China has not been napping. I do not say that all necessary reforms have been made, and I frankly admit that something more will have to be done. Our government and people are aware of this, and they are taking steps in that direction. But it should be remembered that it is not necessary to import by wholesale the Western civilization into China. What is suited to one country may not be suited to another. Wise statesmen do not rush forward to introduce new measures without serious consideration lest their introduction may cause disruption and harm not counterpoised by the good produced.

You have so many conflicting stories about China and the Chinese nowadays, that I must admit it is a difficult matter for anybody to distinguish what is true from what is false. Every globe-trotter, upon his returning home, generally has something to say about China, and is ever ready to give his impressions of the country and its people. A rocky hill may have the appearance of a sand dune on the outside. A passing observer is apt to mistake the one for the other. In order to find out the true character of the elevation, we must go below the surface. The same may be said of

China. The words of the globe-trotter must be taken *cum grano salis* with reference to all things Chinese.

The most important questions with which the Chinese Government has to deal arise from the spirit of commercialism and the spirit of proselytism. In all the treaties which China has concluded with Western Powers, there is an article generally known as the "Toleration Clause." This article provides in effect that Christianity inculcates the practice of virtue, and that those professing or teaching it should not be harassed or persecuted. This apparently innocent provision has not, however, helped to further the cause of Christianity in China. It must be borne in mind that this official recognition of Christianity was first obtained from her after a disastrous war. The clause was no doubt inserted with the best of intentions. But it had the apparent effect of exciting in the native mind the unfounded suspicion that a deep-laid political object was intended under the cover of religion. The provision itself was hardly necessary as the subjects of every Treaty Power are all protected under the general provisions which apply equally to missionaries. Unfortunately most of the troubles occurring in China have arisen from riots against missionaries. Hence it has been said by some foreigners in China that, without missionaries, China would have no foreign complications. I am not in a position to affirm or deny this.

But let us put the shoe on the other foot, and suppose that Confucian missionaries were sent by the Chinese to foreign lands with the avowed purpose of gaining proselytes, and that these missionaries established themselves in New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and other cities, and that they built temples, held public meetings, and opened schools. It would not be strange if they should gather around them a crowd of men, women and children of all classes and conditions. If they were to begin their work by making vehement attacks on the doctrines of Christianity, denouncing the cherished

institutions of the country, or going out of their way to ridicule the fashions of the day, and perhaps giving a learned discourse on the evil effects of corsets upon the general health of American women, it is most likely that they would be pelted with stones, dirt and rotten eggs for their pains.

What would be the consequence if, instead of taking hostile demonstrations of this character philosophically, they should lose their temper, call in the aid of the police, and report the case to the government at Washington for official interference? I verily believe that such action would render the missionaries so obnoxious to the American people as to put an end to their usefulness, and that the American government would cause a law to be enacted against them as public nuisances. Can it be wondered at then that now and then we hear of riots occurring against missionaries in China, notwithstanding the precautionary measures taken by the local authorities to protect them? It must not be understood that I wish to justify or extenuate the lawless acts committed by ignorant mobs, nor do I underestimate the noble and unselfish efforts of Christian missionaries in general who spend the best part of their lives in China. What I desire to point out is that the preaching of the Gospel of Christ in the interior of China (except with great tact and discretion) will, in the nature of things, now and then run counter to popular prejudice and lead to some disturbance.

The spirit of commercialism has lately risen to a dangerous pitch. As a market for the world's goods, China indisputably holds the first place, for the wants of 350,000,000 to 400,000,000 people have to be supplied in some way. It has been said that, as a market, one province of China is worth more than the whole continent of Africa. It has always been the policy of China to treat all foreign nations alike. They are all most favored nations in a literal sense. The maintenance of an "Open Door" is exactly in the line of her policy. But unhappily human nature is never contented. When a man gets an inch, he wants an ell. It is now the turn of

missionaries to tell us that if there were no foreign adventurers in China there would be no foreign complications. Twenty-five centuries ago, our Sage Confucius, the greatest philosopher that ever flourished in China, said, "Wealth gotten by improper ways will take its departure by the same." This is equivalent to your proverb, "Goods ill-gotten go ill-spent." Nations as well as individuals should not forget this, as the maxim of Confucius as well as your proverb will always come true if any nation or individual should unjustly obtain possession of any property. Some people call themselves highly civilized, and stigmatize others as uncivilized. What is civilization? Does it mean solely the possession of superior force and ample supply of offensive and defensive weapons? I take it to mean something more. I understand that a civilized nation should respect the rights of another nation, just the same as in society a man is bound to respect the rights of his neighbor. Civilization, as I understand it, does not teach people to ignore the rights of others, nor does it approve the seizure of another's property against his will. It would be a sorry spectacle if such a glaring breach of the fundamental rights of man could be committed with impunity at the end of this nineteenth century. What would the future historian say when he should come to write about the events of this century? Is it not time that we should at least recognize the principle of righteousness, justice and fair play?

Mencius, a great philosopher of China, twenty-three centuries ago said: "I like life, and I also like righteousness; but if I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness." Now, if people professing Christianity and priding themselves on being highly civilized, should still so far misconduct themselves as to disregard the rights of the weak and inexcusably take what does not belong to them, then it would be better not to become so civilized. It would be better to live amongst the people who practice the tenets of Confucius and Mencius than

amongst a people who profess to believe in the highest standard of morality but do not practice what they believe. The aphorism of Tennyson should then be changed so as to read: "Better fifty years in Cathay than a cycle in Europe."

But I do not believe such practice of ignoring other people's rights is generally resorted to, and I am persuaded there are many people who denounce it. China welcomes to her shores the people of all nations. Her ports are open to all, and she treats all alike without distinction of race, color, nationality, or creed. Her people trade with all foreigners. In return, she wishes only to be treated in the same way. She wants peace,—to be let alone, and not to be molested with unreasonable demands. Is this unfair? She asks you to treat her in the same way as you would like to be treated. Surely this reasonable request cannot be refused. We are about to enter into the twentieth century, and are we to go back to the Middle Ages and witness again the scenes enacted in that period? I cannot bring myself to think that the world is deteriorating. I believe that in every country there are men and women of noble character—and I know in this country there are many such—whose principle is to be fair and just to all, especially to the weak, and that they would not themselves; nor allow their respective governments to commit acts of oppression and tyranny. It is such men and women that shed lustre on their respective countries. It is due to the noble and unselfish efforts of such good people that the scheme of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes has been brought prominently before the world. May their grand scheme be soon carried into effect! The good such an institution will produce to the world will be manifold. All international disputes will then be settled in an amicable way without resort to arms and without bloodshed. There will be practically no more war. The blessings of peace will be permanent. Commerce and trade will be more steady and prosperous, and merchants will have more

confidence in each other. All men will follow their respective avocations uninterruptedly. Nations will be brought into closer touch with each other, and their friendly relations will be more cordial.

These and many other beneficial results will, in my humble opinion, naturally follow from the establishment of an international court of arbitration. It is gratifying to hear that the project of a general disarmament, so nobly proposed by His Majesty the Czar of Russia and so readily seconded by the leading nations of the world, will soon lead to a conference. May it bear good fruit! May it be the precursor of an international court of arbitration! This is my earnest wish, and I am sure it is your wish and the wish of every man and woman who has the peace and well-being of the world at heart.

## THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE EUROPEAN POWERS IN THE FAR EAST.

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His Excellency the Chinese Minister touches our tender points. The missionary, the tourist and the trader must certainly strike the conservative celestial as strange examples of Western civilization, and rather difficult to rate under his "Rules of Propriety." According to Mencius, the way to reach the hearts of the Chinese people is "simply to collect for them what they like and not to lay on them what they dislike." But this is not the way of the West; we propose to collect for them what we think they should like and lay on them what we like ourselves. A peculiar program perhaps, but in pursuance of such a plan the missionary, the tourist and the trader has each served his turn with some success.

True, Chinese civilization is very much older than ours, but we must not forget that in our youth we cherished the same childlike ideals. In the words of Jaric, the Jesuit historian: "If Plato were to rise from Hades, he would declare that his imagined Republic was realized in China." But against the advice of Aristotle, the Greeks themselves took to "retail trade" and in the brief course of our subsequent civilization, capitalism has all but encircled the globe. China is still uncontaminated, to be sure, but missionaries, tourists and traders have already inoculated her inert body—politic with the germs of Western commercialism, and let us hope rejuvenation will result.

There is a story of Chuang-tze, the Chinese Diogenes. He was fishing one day when two high officials approached him with the request that he undertake the administration of the state. Without turning his head Chuang-tze answered the envoys: "I have heard that in Ch'u there is a sacred tortoise which has been dead now some three thousand years, and that the prince keeps this tortoise carefully enclosed in a chest on the altar of his ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its remains venerated, or

be alive and wagging its tail in the mud?" "It would rather be alive" replied the envoys, "and wagging its tail in the mud." "Begone," cried the philosopher, "I too will wag my tail in the mud." So China has been dead now some three thousand years and is weary of being venerated for her remains. She wants to wag her tail again, even though it be in the mud of Western civilization.

But knowing nothing of the incipient tail-waggings of the Chinese tortoise except from the reports of missionaries, tourists and traders, I will leave the discussion of this interesting problem to those who are better versed in the social anatomy of the celestials. We shall meet with others in the far East beside the Asiatics and the question arises: What effect will our present policy of expansion have upon our long-standing attitude toward the European powers?

We Americans are coming at the eleventh hour into the vineyard of Eastern politics. The earlier comers are murmuring somewhat against our sudden intrusion, it is true, but there is really no ground for complaint. We have certainly not been standing idle in the market-place, and if we are late in arriving, it is because we have had work to do in our own fields and a longer road to travel to the vineyard. And at all events—by analogy at least—we are entitled to the same reward as our European fellows who have borne the burden and heat of the day. We must not allow our equanimity to be in the slightest degree disturbed therefore by any lack in the cordiality of our reception.

Our own unpreparedness is a matter much more to the point. Coming by the unfrequented road from the West, we have had but little opportunity of learning the traditions of the place beforehand, and judged from the standpoint of our own experience the situation seems somewhat distorted. If of the many already called we hope to be of the chosen few, it will be well, therefore, before taking up our own burden to look about us a bit, lest we commit some silly blunder at the start difficult to retrieve.

Taken in its broader sweep, Western civilization is furrowed with the vicissitudes of conquest, but as far as our own experience goes, progress toward the West has been practically along an unimpeded path. This is due to the fact that inter-European competition was reduced to an earlier issue on this side of the globe, leaving independent republics, under the hegemony of the United States, in

practical possession of the field. England has thus far been the only European power in any political position to dispute our exclusive claim to the New World, and under such extended territorial conditions contact might generate some friction, perhaps, but scarcely lead to controversy. The continent thus lay open to economic exploitation directly from the Atlantic, and, save for some trifling opposition on the part of the aborigines, American enterprise has consequently been afforded a fair field to run its full course to the Pacific. To us, therefore, expansion has merely meant a peaceful overland advance. But this is purely fortuitous, and it would not be the part of prudence to prognosticate the future from the precedents of so brief a past.

If our domestic traditions are then too limited to determine our present course, we may learn, perhaps, from the more extended experience of our foreign competitors. But in shaping our policy upon international analogy we must bear in mind that Europe and the United States are approaching the Asiatic problem from opposite points of departure—Europe from the East and the United States from the West—and each is accordingly inspired by a different set of ideals. European conclusions must consequently be applied with some reserve to the American side of the case; but if taken with proper precaution the analogy is sufficiently apposite.

The European current of commerce and colonization setting in toward the Pacific, differs from the corresponding course of Western civilization primarily in this: progress toward the East was originally confronted by compact native populations which caused the main stream to bifurcate, one branch proceeding across the northern plains of Siberia, the other reaching the South Sea by skirting the southern shores of the continent. Expansion across the desolate steppes in the North was unopposed save by unorganized aborigines, but the rich peninsulas and fertile islands of the South served each in turn as successive causes of international contention. European colonization in the East thus serves us with two sets of traditions, one evolved from a peaceful overland advance, the other proceeding from colonial controversy by sea. Russia's present political program is the outcome of the former, British imperialism is the result of the latter.

Our own progress across the plains and prairies of North America finds its closest European parallel in Russia's corresponding conquest of Siberia. Before both countries lay

an immense extent of untilled territory, and the problem confronting each government has been to connect a far-lying frontier with a distant political base. Having succeeded in establishing our own transcontinental lines we can better estimate the importance of the Siberian railway and appreciate Russia's present endeavor to control an ice-free port on the Pacific. Russia's possessions in the far East constitute an integral part of her domain, just as the Pacific slope is included within our own body-politic. Russia's attitude toward China and Korea may, therefore, very properly be compared with our own rather ill-defined relations toward the Spanish-American states. In both cases it is a matter of border diplomacy rather than a question of colonial politics. In marking out a sphere of influence toward the south and in claiming certain exclusive privileges, Russia is accordingly following in our own footsteps and taking the same position in northern Asia that we have long since assumed in America. We should be careful, therefore, not to regard Russia's Eastern policy from the prejudiced standpoint of Europe. Her territorial position on the Pacific is entirely different from that of the other maritime powers, and much more closely akin to our own. We have always resented European interference in American affairs and Russia has consistently supported our claims. A sense of justice,—and to a certain extent also a feeling of gratitude,—should therefore, restrain us from joining in the indiscriminate European outcry against Russian aggression in Asia. So long as we believe in the protection of our own borders and jealously encourage reciprocity arrangements with our southern neighbors, we cannot consistently expect Russia to let down the bars and open her Pacific ports to the world. It is enough if she admit her friends, and if we continue to deport ourselves properly, we may doubtless always count upon a warm welcome within her gates.

Without prejudice to our cause we may, therefore, recognize the Russian ideal, and reckon upon at least one legitimate sphere of influence in northern Asia. Having definitely abandoned her earlier American enterprise, there is nothing, however, to attract Russia beyond her Pacific border. Herein we differ from our Slavic contemporary, for our missionaries long since led us to Hawaii and Dewey has recently established us in the Philippines. In thus transcending the limits of our continent, the Russian analogy

fails; and among the islands of the South Sea we have recently come into contact with the other current of European colonization setting in along the southern littoral of Asia. We are here confronted with much more complex conditions, and it will be correspondingly difficult to discover the European counterpart of our policy. Fortunately for our purpose, however, international contest along this line has already resulted in a partial process of elimination, leaving England, the dominant naval power, in practical control. It is to Great Britain we may, therefore, look for further precedents in our present policy of over-sea expansion, as she is the only country which has successfully solved the problem of maritime colonization.

The influence of sea-power is a lesson we have already learned from English history. Let us hope, then, in applying our conclusions to the Pacific that we will at last realize the strategic importance of controlling the westerly trade-routes to the Indies, even as England has seen fit to place herself in possession of the easterly lines. Great Britain also affords us an admirable example of colonial administration, and sets us a civil service standard which we would certainly do well to emulate both at home and abroad. Up to the present, however, England being an industrial and the United States an agricultural country, the commercial cases of the two governments have not been at all analogous. Desiring to develop our manufacturing interests and subsist at the same time by exporting our raw materials, we have been unable to appreciate the universal advantages of the free-trade policy so ardently advocated by our leading competitor in the industrial field. And even now, when our infant industries are approaching maturity and need no further protection, we are still inclined to believe reciprocity will prove the better trade policy for us to pursue—at least with European and American countries. In Asia, perhaps, where the industrialists of Europe and America are meeting on common ground, the case may be somewhat different, but even here it would be a pity to become dogmatic and blindly follow any commercial creed until we are thoroughly cognizant of the situation.

Lord Beresford's pet policy of the "open door" will at best appeal to those established in the islands and along the southeastern littoral of the Asiatic mainland, whose primary aim is the economic exploitation of the continent. Germany

and Japan should accordingly be in sympathy with the cause, and if properly persuaded, both powers may probably be induced to lend the doctrine their support. But French politics are proverbially problematic. To hazard a general proposition: extent of territory is usually more in keeping with France's conception of colonial success than the mere amount of revenue to be derived. Her domain being contiguous upon southern China, it is, therefore, very doubtful whether she will agree to abandon her present policy of encroachment for the doubtful benefits of the open door. And as for Russia, her case as we have already seen does not come within the category at all.

Thus upon our arrival in the far East we shall be met by at least two proposals; the sphere of influence and the open door. If importuned to make an immediate choice, we may best avoid the issue with the boy, who, when asked which hand he would have, laconically answered *both!* What we should object to is the alternative nature of the proposition; this endeavor on the part of the Europeans to draw us into their controversies and commit us to a particular cause. From our present position in the Philippines our immediate interests coincide, it is true, with the policy of the open door. The dismemberment of the Asiatic empire is not in other words to our advantage, and if we are wise we will continue to cultivate friendly relations with the Chinese with a view to encouraging reciprocal trade. We may well afford, therefore, to keep open house in our East Indian islands and vie with our neighbors in the measure of our hospitality. But our action in this particular case should not be supposed to commit us to the universal principles of free-trade. In Europe and America we must feel free to fall back upon reciprocity arrangements. Our relations with the Russians in northern Asia may likewise have to be regulated with similar formality, and it would be folly to antagonize our Slavic friends merely to inculcate an abstract doctrine, when equally good results are to be obtained by more politic means.

In short neither the "open door" nor the "sphere of influence" quite covers our commercial case. And yet our proclivities are sufficiently concordant with either policy to allow us to combine the benefits of both. We should recognize that the two doctrines are due to different sets of traditions and adapt ourselves accordingly to the divergent

principles involved. If the Eastern camp is divided, it merely means that we shall have to treat with both parties. Coming alone from the West we are not diplomatically concerned with these time-worn controversies of the East, and we should find it comparatively easy, therefore, to preserve our traditional attitude of independence. We shall only have to insist upon regarding these questions of commercial policy from the relative point of view. If accused of inconsistency, we can then claim the privileges of an eclectic. To put it bluntly: our present part is to pacify Asiatics and not to contend with Europeans. Until we have adjusted our new burden, therefore, we had best adopt a policy of beneficent neutrality toward our foreign competitors. The Asiatic future is replete with economic opportunities which it were a pity to cloud with diplomatic complexities. Let us take Washington again as our guide: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." Or to paraphrase the words of Jefferson, let this be our motto in the far East. Commercial rivalry with all nations, political alliance with none.

## THE REAL MENACE OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION.

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What we call the Far-Eastern Problem to-day is only an acute phase of the problem of the civilized races of mankind as it has been developed during many centuries. It is the eternal struggle of Turanian and Aryan, of East and West. In its larger meaning it is a contest between the exponents of autocracy and democracy, between absolutist and representative systems of rule; the conception of government under ancient tyrannies as opposed to modern individualism. In its especial relation to our own times it is the question as to which of these tenets of sovereignty is to be applied to the reconstruction of the effete empires of Asia, to the eventual control of civilized mankind. If, as Mr. Brooks Adams suggests, the velocity of the social movement of any community is proportionate to its energy and mass, and its centralization is proportionate to its velocity, the settlement of this problem of the ages may be near at hand. The time has already come when every live nation is necessarily concerned in its solution.

The evolution of modern Europe has involved the gradual elimination of small governments. Beginning with the absorption of feudal fiefs and the suppression of private war and brigandage, a process of concentration at natural centres presently developed a number of national groups which continued to incorporate and ingraft their weaker neighbors until only those remained who were allowed their autonomy because of the convenience or the jealousies of the great powers. The movement from a condition of physical dispersion to one of concentration has been going on from the break-up of the Roman Empire to the recent formation of a united Italy and a united Germany, nor is it possible to say that it has yet reached its limit.

This proceeding has assumed of late an aspect altogether at variance with its former manifestation, since the larger states have sought not only to add to their possessions in Europe but have reached out for colonies to exploit and to supply homes for their surplus populations. The process has in its recent phase been rendered feasible by two material agencies which have risen to predominant importance only

within the century in which we live: these are modern fighting machinery and modern transporting machinery. The size and cost of military and naval armaments to-day place the means alike of attack and defence completely beyond the resources of smaller states; in precisely the same manner the introduction of artillery at the close of the Middle Ages, made the continuance of private warfare altogether too dangerous and costly a business for individuals and compelled the sovereign at once to police and protect his domain. The convenience and economy of this evolution are the best guarantees of its continuance until only those nations shall survive which are best fitted to administer the affairs and preserve the peace of the world. Have we any assurance that we have reached the end of a readjustment that has eliminated the names of Burgundy, of Savoy, and of Poland from the map of Europe, or that such existing survivals as Belgium, or Denmark, or Bulgaria are not destined sooner or later to follow in their train? The second agency, that of rapid travel and the transmission of information, renders it possible to administer territories which in the old days would have fallen apart from mere size and weight; also to convey orders and, if necessary, the troops to enforce them, over lands and seas which have heretofore offered insuperable obstacles to even the highest military and administrative genius. It is not easy to appreciate in a moment the enormous significance of a change in the conditions of life itself which removes us further from the time of Napoleon than he was—so far as means of transport and control of territory were concerned—removed from Alexander or Asshurbanipal. They had roads for the movement of armies by land and sailing vessels for their transport by sea; so had he, nor was his equipment for either element much more swift or certain than theirs. But within the past two generations an alteration in the mere mechanics of fighting and of government has carried us into a new world—a world differing effectually not alone in habits and ideals but in the foundations and instruments of its efficiency from those ancient and mediæval states which history offers as models.

These conditions are necessarily as yet so novel as to engender some vagueness of interpretation by philosophical speculators, some indefiniteness of purpose on the part of politicians. The main issues of this transition era with its measureless possibilities for the future are nevertheless at

length grasped by the dominant statesmen of Europe. They begin now to understand that, given the control of sufficient resources, it is simply a matter of calculation how far the power of a single government may be extended over the peoples of the earth. Under present terms, moreover, those disabilities have substantially disappeared which formerly rendered the education and amalgamation of alien races brought under a common rule a hard and hazardous matter. Complete isolation and removal from prevailing influences are no longer practicable under normal conditions without artificial compulsion. The interchange of ideas proceeds inevitably and by itself throughout communities whatever their size and number. And as a corollary to this transference of intellectual life comes the inevitable employment for general purposes of the language in which instruction and information are disseminated. A secondary result, therefore, of prevalent tendencies is the spread of a few languages over the greater part of the world as the legal and literary media of the future, and the relegation of other tongues to the subordinate position of dialects which survive only as the vernacular of restricted districts.

Under widely varying circumstances and with numerous differences of detail Europe appears at the opening of the twentieth century to be entering upon a phase of its career somewhat similar to that which was marked by the establishment of imperial Rome nearly nineteen centuries ago. The machinery of the new centralization is certain to be more elastic as it will be more complex, the control will be less obvious and direct; but co-ordination of hitherto heterogeneous elements under some predominant power is apparently as inevitable and necessary now as it was then. In comparison with the vast extent of the new system the domain of ancient Rome shrinks to almost insignificant dimensions. The command of the habitable globe is for the first time in history possible to that power in whose hands are placed the resources that insure obedience, whose capital is the centre of exchanges. The area of its activities will embrace not Europe and the Mediterranean basin alone but the six continents and their outlying islands; its mastership must be exercised alike in all countries.

When we seek for the nation under whose ægis the rote and rule of old Rome may be resuscitated in the near future, only two appear as possible competitors for the great prize,

the Slav and the Anglo-Saxon. These are the only races whose territories, and consequently whose potential strength in population and material resources, are adequate to the stupendous task, whose subjects are colonizers in the true sense that comprises both the peopling of waste spaces and the assimilation and subjection of foreigners to their institutions. These great rivals have been already long at work, each in characteristic fashion, fulfilling what we call, somewhat lightly perhaps, their manifest destiny, each a participator in the conquest of Asia. The solution of the problem seems to lie in their hands, and behind one or the other must sooner or later be ranged all the political forces of the world.

Superficially both of these colossal empires appear to denote the spirit of the West and all that this implies in the eternal opposition of Orient and Occident, to which allusion has been made. But the accidents of a capital located in Europe and an ancestry traced to a common Aryan origin must not mislead our conclusions. In temperament and propensity these two nations embody the same antagonism that has in times past ranged the civilized world in two hostile camps. Their pretensions are as diverse as those of Persia and Hellendom twenty-two centuries ago—when, too, Aryan chiefs focused and guided the ambitions of East as well as West to different ends. Russia, though arrayed in the panoply of Christendom and bearing the outward symbols of Western culture, is the embodiment and expression of Oriental absolutism, the synonym of obedience to a single will. Great Britain, the present leader of the Anglo-Saxon hosts, is the protagonist of Western conceptions of liberty and self-government. She stands for the freedom of subject as well of sovereign, which, being interpreted in terms made clear by generations of conflict between her own children, means the sovereignty of the subject, of the people. The principles upon which her constitution reposes are the result of centuries of education and evolution in which the races of the East have taken no part.

The past careers of these two aspirants for world-direction furnish a clue to what may logically be expected from them in the future. In the dawn of Slavonic history we find the ancestors of the Russians to be a wayward group of tribes unable to coalesce in effective federation until conquered and given the initiative by an alien power. What the Tartar Bulgars did for some of these clans in the lower Danube

valley the Northmen of Scandinavia and the Mongols effected at different times upon other members of the race in Russia. The unity to which the Slavs could never of themselves attain was forced upon them from without; but they had their revenge in the end by absorbing their conquerors and reducing their organization to its simplest elements. From this the inference may not unreasonably be made that the Slavic type, though enduring, displays little administrative ability and yields inevitably to the higher political genius of others. It carries its arms far to-day, but its soldiers and colonists bear no new message to the Asiatics with whom they commingle. They overrun their waste places and change their manners and perhaps their language, but for government only offer a Western autocrat in place of an Oriental monarch. It is Asiatic absolutism again incarnate in an Aryan family, as in the days of the Medo-Persian dominion.

The Anglo-Saxon presents a striking contrast in every phase of this comparison. He compels submission not through mere numerical superiority or the primitive process of *force majeure*, but by reason of the inventive and organizing talent of the race. Never content with the experience and example of others, he has worked out his problems to his own satisfaction and impressed his conclusions as a logical necessity upon all with whom he associates. In the light of his past performances it is impossible to imagine that he can ever abandon his ideals or revert to the primitive principles of patriarchal rule. The inevitable outcome of the predominance of one of these two races in Asia is submission to the old-world dogma of divinely inspired sovereignty, of the other an attempt—it may be altogether in vain—to teach the subject the high doctrine of self-rule.

To these politico-historic considerations must be added the politico-economic aspects of the Eastern Question which are rapidly driving on toward a crisis. For the century that has so radically altered the national relationships in the civilized world has in equal degree revolutionized the economic situation. Mechanical appliances have increased production and facilitated the exchange of raw and manufactured materials out of all proportion to the increase in consumption and demand. A significant result of this transformation of the productive plant in the Western world has been the accumulation of enormous reserves of capital in the hands

of the ablest members of civilized society. The demand of this capital for larger employment and the extension of its field of activity exerts a pressure upon the statesmen and legislators of Western nations absolutely irresistible in its effect. Within a score of years it has compelled them to explore and partition Africa and lay claim to even the minutest islands of the sea. But its grandest ambition must inevitably be devoted to enlightening the unregenerate populations of Asia and developing both the natural resources of their territories and the artificial appetites which will turn them into profitable consumers.

It is idle in face of a factor which is founded upon one of the strongest of human passions to argue the morality of this desire. Greed and fear have ever been, in one form or another, the two most powerful motives in history, and this predicament of modern times involves them both. For the stake is life or death; the nation that does not succeed in gaining at least a small share in this competition for new markets must succumb to a pressure that will surely annihilate. Yet the issue may none the less bring infinite possibilities for good to a vast aggregation of human beings who now lie fallow and inept to every quickening impulse. Evidently the happiness of many millions is to depend upon the outcome of a conflict which is both racial and industrial.

Applying these economic postulates to the two rivals which we necessarily keep in view, it remains to consider their relation to the problem before us. It is evident from what has already been adduced that political concentration is the order of the day, and that electricity, steam and steel are practical agents of the highest importance in the further prosecution of the struggle between East and West, because they make it physically possible for a single nation to conquer and rule the inhabited globe. This has never been the case before. In the past the contest between these diverse and dissenting parties has been unremitting; neither has been completely successful, and there has always been room for them both. The war was long and often fierce, but it could not be a war of extermination, for the defeated side could always flee to the barbarians beyond its remoter borders. Moreover, the unparalleled industrial evolution of the closing century has added a new element of gravity to the issue. If mechanical advantages render the extension of the struggle possible, this necessitates its spread; the first may be a

matter of preference and policy, this is relentless natural law. The ancient ambitions of martial kings subside into insignificance when compared with the terrible earnestness of modern competition for industrial supremacy. This is the monstrous test of Nature herself to determine the fittest, one of those titanic cosmical throes wherein the individual and his desires disappear altogether in the immensity of the operation. Under antique influences, when even the smallest communities could subsist contentedly upon their own resources, it was feasible and sometimes profitable for nations to shut themselves within their own borders and stagnate behind the protection of fortified frontiers. To-day the action of commercial intercourse renders the policy of hermit nations odious alike to those without and to those within their boundaries. The industrial and trading portion of mankind insists upon adding to the area of its operations until every avenue to profit is opened and every people civilized. The strength and headway of this combination is such now that only a military colossus supported by sufficient troops and territories to sustain its own weight can presume to resist its continued expansion.

But what if such a colossus arise? What if the future unlike the past allow no space for two equally matched empires to contend without conclusion, if it provide no barbarian fastness as asylum for the defeated? Both contingencies may occur. The Colossus of the North, Antæus-like, is increasing his strength with each fresh contact with the soil; and already the exploitation of remote lands is leaving no territory untouched by the influence of economic laws that constitute producers of the same commodity, members of the same gild, wherever found.

Evidently the rivals approach the same goal from opposite directions and impelled by different forces. The manufacturing and trading nations advance upon hitherto unknown lands, moved by the silent action of a primary passion that transforms every qualified trader into the captain of a conquering host. It is not incredible indeed that the government which orders the foremost group of these commercial armies to-day may succumb to the lust of military power in the event of succeeding too rapidly. With the prize well in view England's temptation is perhaps the strongest and most subtle ever set before a nation, and her people and rulers are but human. But England herself is

great only so long as as she leads her mighty offspring and expresses the racial idea. It is the natural tendency of her empire to fall away as its dependencies mature; the only real tie that binds the aggregation together is that of self-interest. The moment she goes counter, therefore, to this great aim of her coadjutors, the moment a scramble for spoils begins, her leadership is lost, the body and limbs separate. It has been her fate rather than her desire to add to her possessions great patches of barbarism in order to defend the preserves where civilization has already begun to replace ignorance and misrule. Her true course, however, is not annexation, but instruction; the operations of trade bring her victories more lasting than those won by Maxim guns; she has no need of a better ally.

Russia's objective, on the other hand, is international monopoly. Her tendency is toward increased centralization of authority and the concentration of aggressive power whose appetite for territorial extension becomes in the end a mania. There is no place in her schemes for countries that her garrisons do not occupy. To subvert in unending succession, to tax and oppress her subjects for the maintenance of the huge military machine—these are her aims, precisely as they were those of Darius long ago. They involve the suppression of the individual everywhere for the benefit of the ruler, the abasement of the subject, and the inevitable reduction of civilization to a level with the condition of purely military despotisms of the past. She cannot cease aggressions against her neighbors because she is powerless to change her ways and compete with those mercantile nations whose effective conquests are those of peace and the increase of plenty. She frankly and even cynically acknowledges her intention of pushing her acquisitions to the extreme limits of the continent upon which she has entered. She must do so: both to exercise those armies that may, if thwarted, turn and rend her, and to exclude forcibly from those vast spaces the agents of her insatiable commercial adversaries. The occupation of Manchuria by her troops and workmen under a contract with China which secures its complete segregation from the competition of outsiders is only the most recent instance of a policy she has applied wherever practicable. This last step, which excites considerable apprehension at the moment because her desire to cancel the Niuchwang railway contract might, if persisted

in, threaten war with Great Britain, is especially interesting as demonstrating the inability of any Czar by himself to modify the national and dynastic program. Personally the present emperor is credited with a strong desire for peace; but it is impossible for him, however friendly his inclinations, to expose this natural outlet of his Siberian possessions to the free action of foreign business concerns before whose superior commercial ability Russian interests would inevitably decay. For Russian plans to succeed there must be monopoly and undisputed sway; the presence of a single interloper endangers the whole system. The Czar must, then, fulfil the family traditions and protect his children where they are confessedly incompetent to defend themselves, or forfeit the respect and endorsement of the army which is the foundation of his throne.

A melancholy reflection suggested by this incident is the fact that the greatest Russian sovereigns have always been the wickedest. A ruler there need only be callous enough to suffering and to breaches of the moral law to count to the uttermost upon the support of his fighting machine. The emperor who prefers the ways of peace, on the other hand, must defend his predilection against a hostile group of officers who, if they are convinced that rectitude is likely to be pushed far, can always replace him upon the throne with a more complacent instrument of their ambitions. The rift in the armor of Russia is the necessity, common to every despotism, of implicit reliance upon those to whom delicate and dangerous tasks are entrusted. Agents who are trained to the sort of business required by irresponsible monarchs will accept the death penalty for failure, they will not tolerate close scrutiny of their accounts. For this reason a habit of corruption has been fostered which the most strenuous absolutism in the world is powerless to keep in check. The vices of bribery and peculation are so generally recognized as prevailing everywhere in the Eastern world that we have come to attribute them, rather loosely and almost unconsciously, to climatic or geographical influences; yet the example of New Japan shows that they are not concomitants to life in the Orient, but are only inevitable to the Oriental system of rule. How deeply this disease of immorality has permeated their society may be inferred from the significant though horrible Russian adage that "Lord Christ himself would steal if his hands were not nailed fast to the cross."

Against these weaknesses in the body politic of Russia, however, may be balanced the vacillation inseparable to party government in Anglo-Saxon states, where waves of prejudice or sentiment not infrequently overwhelm and ruin the wisest plans of far-sighted statesmen. Though the Eastern power be less delicately adjusted for the great work of governing men it is less apt to be subjected to those strains which come from too strenuous a passion for righteousness. Nor, in this category of disabilities common to our race should we neglect those traits of timidity and selfishness which become the bane of purely commercial communities and finally sap their strength and invalidate their influence. Against this vital danger we of the West have ever need to be on our guard.

Such being the attitude and ability of these natural opponents it remains to consider their position upon the continent which is the arena of their struggle. Great Britain, with her present reserve of capital at home and her command of the sea, has the advantage of being able to strike wherever she chooses and strike with swift and terrible strength. But Russia, like the leviathan, having no vitals cannot be mortally wounded however severe the blow may be. With limitless numbers intrenched in her remote and unassailable strongholds she can neither be ousted from her possessions nor prevented from advancing. Though for the time being there is little advertisement of Western Asia in the newspapers it is not likely that she has abandoned her earlier intention of securing Turkey. Even Persia and India remain well within the horizon of her ambition. It is enough, she thinks, that the greater prize of China when won will secure the less. Meantime the Ottoman Empire, if shrewdly guarded against invigoration through European reforms, will ripen and then rot in iniquity so as to fall, helpless and inane, of itself into her lap. And the same is palpably true of Persia; while in India much more may be expected from the fermentation engendered by British philanthropy than could ever be won by Russian attacks. There are signs in that mysterious land of South Asia which seem to intimate that England's work instead of stimulating its inhabitants to learn the difficult lesson of self-control is exciting them to madness and revolt. It is only necessary, Russia concludes, to locate her frontier fortresses conveniently near and wait.

The end, therefore, is not yet. Much remains to be

achieved in order to perfect the instruments by which her plans are to be fulfilled, while the great distances which separate the different parts of the Russian Empire are covered with a network of railways, and its vacant spaces turned into breeding-places of armed men. Above all, it is essential to the completion of her purpose to secure that richest and most populous realm on earth which has hitherto escaped the hand of the despoiler. Russia's need of China does not at all imply a necessity for increased markets to satisfy the desires of an overflowing industrial population. It means the direct increase of her fighting force by the acquisition of millions of hardy peasants who can, under European training, be turned into admirable soldiers; it represents the addition to her already magnificent resources of the richest mineral deposits to be found anywhere in the world; it signifies to her manufacturing rival that these supplies of men and material are to be henceforth as in the past withdrawn from the general service of mankind and reserved for her exclusive benefit. With the immoderate power involved in the mastery of these possessions, extending over a wide and continuous domain, impenetrable from without, but made articulate within by methods which modern science provides, Russia will have only to issue commands while the inhabitants of the earth tremble and obey. For it must not be forgotten that her peculiar strength depends upon position as well as upon size. With her back to the frozen ocean and her feet planted firmly upon two continents, she occupies a strategic front that can be maintained against any assault. Add to this the natural wealth from the mines and fields and manual labor of Asia, and the result is a combination of potency and energy that not only defies attack, but eventually threatens destruction to every other existing political power. Upon the highlands of Central Asia have been bred in the past the races which overran and dominated the civilized West, and where these swarms were once raised other millions may spring up in the future to obey the call of the conqueror and spread devastation among those more cultured but less lusty peoples who represent our race. It might indeed be an interesting speculation to calculate the chances of Africa, Australia and the two Americas if pitted against a united Russian-Asia, in some supreme encounter a century or two hence. In actual fighting strength the

sides might not be very uneven. But the result of such an estimate would be valueless, because no combination that could be imagined would bring all those diverse and unrelated continents together, while a true comprehension of every part and people of Asia under Russian leadership, as representative of her *Zeitgeist*, looms large from the obscurity that veils the coming age.

The future, then, admits a return to the conception of hermit nation only upon the condition that the hermit, like that great Assassin, Sheikh al-Jebal or the Old Man of the Mountain, be feared sufficiently to command implicit obedience from his instruments and inspire terror far and near among the nations. Only by sheer might and multitude of resources can he defeat the operations of those natural economic processes which diffuse prosperity and knowledge equally throughout the world. It appears to be not only evident but inevitable that Russia proposes to fill this fearful rôle of great reactionist. The strength and occasion for its exercise being granted, Russia with the confidence of a youthful and courageous savage intends to pursue her passion for omnipotence to the very end. A less rudimentary racial type would long since have been diverted from this artless ambition by the complex distractions of an inventing and speculative age; an older people would not have dared. In her indifference to the risk incurred, in the crudity of her ideals, in her deliberate preference for the ruthless way of the Ancient East, lie the menace of her pretensions. The conclusion to the contest already begun between Asia and Europe under Slav and Saxon leadership allows no alternative between victory on the one side and destruction on the other. Much is said at present of Russian alliances in Europe. It is eminently politic for her to secure as many of these as she may, provided they are to be had, as is usually the case, for the asking. The national bigotry and narrowness of decadent France seem to find in such a co-partnership some assuagement for recent mortifications; but Russia is of necessity equally opposed to all Western European states alike so long as they produce salable commodities and desire trade. Her friendships with some of them are only phases of a transition period while her plans await accomplishment, or are undertaken to divide the ranks of her enemies the more easily to overwhelm them. Permanent community of interests between such natural antagonists is

as unlikely as was any lasting fellowship between the Roman Empire and its occasional barbarian allies. When she has won the prize set before her there will be no room left in the political firmament for luminaries of the second magnitude, no uncivilized regions, as of old, for the vanquished party to invade and settle, no long tension of inconclusive wars that retard growth indeed but leave the body of the nation free to pursue its accustomed vocations. Her victory will mean the sort of depressing monopoly which Napoleon sought to establish, but extended this time over a vastly wider sphere. Let us face the alternatives offered by this tremendous combat: they are either a crushing absolutism which must involve us all, or an era of prosperity brought about by a universalization of commerce unequalled hitherto in the world's history.

It is imperative to comprehend fully the purport of this great question and discern the abyss that yawns beyond. Nor is it necessary to defame the Russian character in order to strengthen the protest against their assumptions. It is in the race tendency rather than in the people themselves that the danger lies. They have often and beneficially played the rôle of civilizers in darkest Asia, enforcing peace and good order where none had been known for centuries. Their work in reducing the khanates of Turkestan and compelling the desert slavers there to forego their favorite activities of kidnapping and robbery, compares favorably with anything that England has done of the same sort. In dealing with the ruder Asiatic they undoubtedly succeed better than their less pliant rivals, the English; and by reason of the personal popularity of their administrators, as well as because of the prestige of their unbroken successes, they enjoy a fairer prospect of securing the guidance of militant Asia by choice of the fighting class than any other foreign folk. Yet it is this very *simpatia* with a grosser civilization than befits their Aryan descent that constitutes the gravity of the impending crisis. It shows that half-measures and a merely superficial modification of barbaric society satisfy the Russian conscience. It proves again, if additional proof be needed, that the Slav is ready in all that touches and inspires the soul of a nation to sink to the low level of Asiatic ideals, to surrender what he has learned from liberal Europe and relapse into the animalism and inertness of Oriental life. And when the mark of his European culture, brandished a

little contemptuously now before our eyes, is at length thrown aside, we shall find ourselves, while opposed to this Caliban of to-day confronted with the old, unchanging issue of Eastern tyranny and retrogression *versus* Western freedom and progress.

To keep this prototype of brute force from pervading and controlling the whole world, the nations that still cherish lofty hopes for humanity must forget their sectionalism and stand together in battle. It is madness to abate one particle of the issue and declare that something ought to be conceded for the cause of peace, to pretend, as do some Englishmen already weary of the strain, that Russia if given Northern China, or Constantinople, or a port on the Persian Gulf, will be content. She is not striving for portions, but for the whole of Asia; when she has gained this she knows, and we must eventually agree, that nothing human can resist her. Fortunately for the cause of freedom America has just discovered that she is necessarily involved in the affairs of Eastern Asia; that she has a stake in common there with others whom she can already undersell in distant as well as in domestic markets; that her business compels her to join in the work of reducing barbarians to order and educating them; finally, and perhaps most fortunately of all for the present crisis, that there is no real antagonism between the mother-country and her once rebellious colony, but that friendly co-operation has only to be proffered to be eagerly accepted. When we realize that the menace of Russian aggression affects not only the political supremacy of Great Britain in Asia but the free exercise of those high aspirations which are vital to the existence of every regenerate people, we will cease to imagine vain fears of imperialism and assemble the utmost strength of the enlightened West against that portentous imperialism embodied in the spirit of a devouring and devastating East. Finally, when we appreciate the fact that to secure China is the *sine qua non* of Russian designs for the establishment of a universal empire, that without her wealth and willing hands the Muscovite can never become master of a double continent and so of the world, we will listen before it is too late to the Macedonian cry of that misgoverned nation to go over and help them.



## Appendices.



I. THIRD ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
American Academy of Political and  
Social Science.

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"THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED  
STATES: COMMERCIAL AND  
POLITICAL."

*Report of the Committee on Meetings.*

Two years ago when the Academy decided to inaugurate a series of annual meetings it was felt by your Committee that the value of papers discussed at such meetings would be greatly increased if grouped about one subject. In this way the best thought and experience of the country could be concentrated upon definite public questions. Each year would thus mark an important contribution to the literature of political and social science.

The success of the Third Annual Meeting has fully justified the expectations of the Committee. The concentration of public attention upon the questions connected with our foreign policy together with the high authority of those who took part in the discussions, placed the meetings prominently before the eyes of the public. The information accessible to the general public on the great public questions confronting the country was to be found, in the main, in the newspaper press. Colored as this information was by partisanship, all thoughtful citizens were anxious to obtain trustworthy information and to receive the benefit of unprejudiced opinion.

In planning a thoroughly scientific examination of our commercial and political policy, the Committee feels that the Academy has rendered a real service, not merely to its members but to the country at large.

The plan for the annual meeting included four scientific sessions, held on the afternoon and evening of Friday and Saturday, April 7 and 8, together with a visit to the Commercial Museums Saturday morning, April 8. The afternoon sessions were held in the Assembly Room of the Manufacturers' Club and were largely attended.

The session of Friday afternoon, April 7, which was devoted to a discussion of the "Government of Dependencies," was presided over by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania. In introducing the speakers Professor Lindsay emphasized the fact that the committee in charge of the meeting had but one end in view—namely, the impartial discussion of great public questions. The diversity of opinion evoked by the discussions fully corroborated the statement of the presiding officer.

On Friday evening, April 7, the Honorable Carl Schurz delivered the annual address on "Militarism and Democracy." Professor E. J. James, of the University of Chicago, and president of the Academy, presided, and in his opening remarks commented on the work of the Academy, past and present, and mapped out its future field of usefulness. The remarks of the president are printed in full in another portion of this volume.

On Saturday morning, April 8, the members of the Academy were invited to visit the Commercial Museums, where Dr. W. P. Wilson had arranged a special exhibit of products of the far East. This visit proved one of the most interesting events in connection with the annual meeting. The care and skill with which the exhibit was arranged gave to the members the possibility of acquainting themselves at first hand with the economic resources of the East. In a

few well chosen remarks Dr. Wilson pointed out the possibilities of trade and commerce and explained to the members the organization and work of the museum.

The session of Saturday afternoon, April 8, was devoted to a discussion of "Our Commercial Relations with the far East," Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania, in the chair. Both Mr. Ford's and Mr. Hill's papers presented a wealth of material on this important question.

The discussion of Saturday evening on "Our Political Relations with the far East," proved one of the most interesting of the series. The presence of four distinguished speakers attracted one of the largest audiences in the history of the Academy. The addresses of all the speakers, particularly that of his excellency, the Chinese minister, Wu Ting-fang, were received with great interest.

That the discussions of the annual meeting attracted wide-spread attention was attested by the great number of editorial comments in newspapers of all sections of the country. The early publication of the proceedings will give to the members of the Academy who were not able to attend the meeting the opportunity of profiting by the material presented.

Your committee arranged for a number of social events in connection with the annual meeting. On Friday evening, April 7, a reception was tendered by the Academy to the Honorable Carl Schurz, which gave to our members the opportunity of meeting the distinguished guest of the Academy. On Saturday afternoon, April 8, Mrs. Talcott Williams entertained the members at her home and gave them an opportunity to meet his excellency, the Chinese minister. On Saturday evening, April 8, the University Club tendered a reception to the Chinese minister, the Honorable John Bassett Moore and the other speakers at the annual meeting.

The committee on meetings takes this opportunity to

express to the president and directors of the Manufacturers' Club, the president and board of governors of the University Club and to the director of the Commercial Museums, Dr. W. P. Wilson, their appreciation of the courtesy of these organizations in co-operating with the committee in the arrangements for the meeting.

The expenses of the meeting, which would have proved a very serious financial burden to the Academy, were defrayed by a special committee of fifteen members, each of whom contributed fifty dollars to the special fund. The members of the committee were: George Burnham, George Burnham, Jr., Andrew Carnegie, John H. Converse, Edwin S. Cramp, Samuel Dickson, W. W. Frazier, Charles C. Harrison, Samuel F. Houston, Theodore Marburg, John D. Rockefeller, J. G. Rosengarten, Charles A. Schieren, Isaac N. Seligman, John Wanamaker. This fund was supplemented by a number of subscriptions from ten to twenty-five dollars, contributed by the following gentlemen: Oliver H. P. Belmont, Charles J. Bonaparte, Henry E. Busch, Clarence H. Clark, Dr. J. M. DaCosta, Hon. George F. Edmunds, Theodore M. Etting, Abram S. Hewitt, Thomas McKean, Jr., Robert C. Ogden, Charles E. Pugh, Charles Richardson, Gustav H. Schwab, M. Hampton Todd, Harry F. West, George Wood.

To the members of the special committee, as well as to the subscribers, your committee on meetings desires to extend its sincere thanks.

Respectfully submitted,

L. S. ROWE,

*Chairman.*

ROLAND P. FALKNER,

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,

E. R. JOHNSON,

L. S. ROWE,

*Committee on Meetings.*

## II.

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### INTRODUCTORY ADDRESSES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY, PROFESSOR EDMUND J. JAMES, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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#### THE AMERICAN ACADEMY AND ITS WORK.

*Remarks at the Evening Session of the Annual Meeting,  
Friday, April 7, 1879.*

Members and guests of the Academy: Before the time set for another annual meeting comes around, our association will have completed its first decade. On the fourteenth of next December the Academy will have been in existence ten full years. It would seem to be appropriate, therefore, on an occasion like this to cast a brief glance back over the history of our organization and possibly cast a brief horoscope of its future.

One element of success in the work of the Academy is to be found in the comparative permanence which has been secured in the general management of affairs and in the issue of our publications. Our present Advisory Committee, which has been a great help to us in our work still contains the names of many members who were on the committee when it was first organized. The losses from this committee have been few though serious. The distinguished economist, Francis A. Walker, the distinguished constitutional authorities, Judge J. A. Jameson, and the Honorable Thomas M. Cooley were lost to the Academy by death. The addition of such men as the Rt. Hon. Lord Herschell, whose sudden death, however, deprived us so soon of his assistance, and the Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, the very Reverend John J.

Keane, D. D., and other eminent men, have brought to our councils, added wisdom and strength.

The present Editor in Chief of the publications of the Academy, Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania, was one of the associate editors when our work was first inaugurated, and has furnished, therefore, the continuous element in this important branch of our work.

I see around me still nearly all the men who were active in the original planning of the Academy with the exception of the lamented Brinton Coxe. I am especially pleased to see here to-night—I know that you will pardon me this personal allusion—and I trust that he will also, my friend Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, a man to whom this Academy owes very much, as do indeed, so many other of the successful organizations for public work in this city. It was Mr. Rosengarten who brought to the aid of the Academy in the very first instance the name and the prestige of the old Philadelphia Science Association, an organization which had done a useful and honorable service in this community. Without the assistance of Mr. Rosengarten at this juncture it is a serious question whether the Academy could have been organized on the liberal scale which was actually adopted. He has been ever since one of the quiet, unostentatious, most important elements in our work.

Dr. Lindsay will, in a few moments give you some detailed account of the actual work of the Academy during the last year.

To the larger aspects of our work as seen from the point which enables us to look back over a full decennium, I would briefly call your attention. When the Academy was organized we set before ourselves a number of tasks. We undertook to initiate and carry out various lines of scientific and practical activity. We proposed to secure, if possible, a large membership, believing that in this way we should secure for our publications a wider and more extensive influence. We undertook to hold regular meetings of the

Academy for the reading of scientific papers and for the discussion of scientific matters. We held out the prospect that these papers and such other material as we might find valuable, should be published in the form of a regular serial. We expressed the hope that we should be able to collect a library, and that we might be enabled, as the years went on, to undertake special investigations under the immediate auspices of the Academy itself, which might in this way assist in the development of certain work, which would not otherwise be feasible.

It is, of course, too much to expect that in a large plan of this sort we should be able within the short period of a single decade to even initiate all these various departments of work, to say nothing of carrying to complete development any one of them. But a glance at our history certainly shows that we have at least made a beginning in nearly all of these directions, and in some of them have carried out very fully, as fully as might be reasonably expected under the circumstances, the program which we announced.

We have to-day, as you learn from our printed announcements, a membership including subscribing members, of nearly two thousand. This is surely a satisfactory fulfillment of our undertaking to secure a large membership. No other body similar to ours working in these fields has anything like the same number of members. And while a large membership is not by any means the only test of the value of such an organization, it is at any rate a proof that the work it is doing commands a certain general sympathy and support among thoughtful people here and elsewhere. It is interesting to know that the membership is not limited to citizens of Philadelphia, or of Pennsylvania, or even of the United States, but that a very large proportion, something like 10 per cent, are to be found in foreign countries. Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Russia, South and Central America, China, India and Japan have representatives in our body.

We have held regular meetings, either monthly or quarterly, since the organization of the Academy, and during the last three years we have inaugurated a special annual meeting similar to the one which we open to-night for the purpose of discussing more in detail, than would otherwise be possible, some question of important theoretical or practical bearing. We are now publishing the thirteenth volume of our proceedings, and I think no one can examine these publications without being convinced that they form a substantial contribution to the development in theoretical and practical directions of the political and social sciences. We have collected a few books which may form the nucleus of a library, and we stand ready to inaugurate the work of special investigation as soon, and carry it as far, as any special funds given to the Academy for that purpose may justify.

The outlook, therefore, is extremely promising for the work of the next decade, and I should like simply to present one thought for your consideration on this occasion, and that is the desirability of securing as soon as may be convenient a suitable building, properly equipped and prepared for the special work of the Academy. We have thus far been compelled to utilize for our work such quarters as we might be able to obtain from time to time, hiring usually special rooms for our public meetings.

I think it is due to express in a public way the appreciation of the Academy for the courtesy which the University of Pennsylvania has shown to this organization from its beginning in practically putting at its disposal, free of charge, a room in the University building for the conducting of certain portions of its work. It is not easy to see how in early days we could have inaugurated our work at all had it not been for the generous attitude of the University toward our society.

When the Academy was organized in the first instance I maintained that the headquarters should be located perma-

nently in the city of Philadelphia. It was natural that some persons should have thought that my argument found its chief support in the fact that I was then living in the city of Philadelphia and connected with the University of Pennsylvania. But my experience in the work of the Academy during the ten years since its organization has amply borne out my views at that time. And now that I can look at the work from a view-point a thousand miles away, I am still more fully convinced that the city of Philadelphia was the only city in the United States in which the work could have been begun as it was, and could have reached its present proportions within such a brief period.

Philadelphia is *par excellence* the home of the learned society. You have the American Philosophical Society, the oldest and still the most respectable of these organizations. Founded by Benjamin Franklin, the father of so many excellent things in this city and country, it has done a wide and useful work, and Philadelphia and the whole country may be proud of its career.

In the Academy of Natural Sciences you have another organization whose work is known wherever scientific men are prying into the mysteries of the universe.

In the Franklin Institute there is still another organization of the same kind, which has done in the department of engineering a work very similar to that accomplished by the Academy of Natural Sciences in its own proper field.

In the Pennsylvania Historical Society you have an organization and an equipment, which in its publications and series of contributions to American History is certainly not surpassed by any other similar organization in the United States, and equaled by few.

Surely all these things point to the fact that here was the proper place for such an organization, and the experience of the last ten years, though brief and partial, has amply sustained this view.

There is another favoring circumstance here, in the existence of the University of Pennsylvania, and its past close relations to the work of such an organization as this. To the work of an academy of political and social sciences which is to be fruitful, permanent and far reaching the aid of a great institution of learning in which due attention is given to the cultivation of this field, is almost absolutely necessary. The University of Pennsylvania has made wonderful strides in the last few years toward a leading position among the great American universities, and in no department has it done more or achieved a greater success than in that of the political and social sciences. I say it after a due deliberation and with a pretty full knowledge of existing facilities for the study of these subjects in the United States, that nowhere is to-day a better opportunity offered for the advanced student to get the kind of help which he needs in the prosecution of his studies in the field of the political and social sciences than in the University of Pennsylvania. Such a department is of enormous aid in the proper development and management of the work of a society like our own.

Here then the conditions are favorable for our work as shown by the best of all tests, the success which has attended it.

We are now about to enter upon the second decade, and I believe that the next great step for us to take is in the direction of securing an adequately equipped building which may serve as the headquarters of the work of the Academy, where its administrative work may be done with suitable accommodations for its library, which will enable us to make it more useful to the members and to the general public as well, and with suitable halls for its meetings, and with the opportunities for special investigation and research which the advanced student or college or university professor needs. The existence of such a building as this, would, I am sure, mark a new era in the history of the Academy

and render permanent the achievements which have been thus far effected, opening the way for new advances in many different directions, now only slightly appreciated, and perhaps not even yet dreamed of.

To the fullest and most complete working of human forces there belongs not merely a soul, but a body. We have been evolving a soul—if you may permit us to use such an expression—during the first ten years of the existence of the Academy. The time has come to clothe that soul with a body. A sound mind in a sound body, a beautiful soul in a beautiful body. This is our desire and expectation.

It is permitted to young men to dream dreams and old men to prophesy. As I stand half way between youth and old age I may be permitted to take advantage of the privileges of both, and dream a dream and prophesy a prophecy.

I dream of the time when the Academy will be properly housed here in this city in such a building as I have indicated, equipped with special funds for carrying on special investigations similar to those which enable the Academy of Natural Sciences to organize its expeditions; the Franklin Institute to organize its expositions, and the Historical Society and the Philosophical Society to do their appropriate work. A building which will enable us to accumulate a special library along lines not cared for by existing institutions, and which will enable us to offer these facilities in the freest and fullest way to the public is a necessity.

I prophesy that long before we shall have completed the second decade of our existence such a building will be constructed and in use. I bespeak for this project your hearty sympathy and interest, and your co-operation in exciting and developing such an interest among the public spirited citizens of Philadelphia as will enable us to carry out this project in the fullest and most satisfactory manner.

## INTRODUCING HONORABLE CARL SCHURZ.

MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE ACADEMY:—It is *par excellence* the function of a society like ours to bring to the discussion and consideration of every public question that patient and open mind which is characteristic of the true scientific man. It is our duty to see that, so far as possible, all sides of important public questions shall receive due attention and thought. Our attitude toward all questions, no matter how practical they become, is that of the scientific mind, pure and simple. The Academy, as such, can take no side upon any concrete public question. It can, as such, espouse the cause of no party; its sole purpose is to elicit truth upon all questions falling within the general field to the cultivation of which it is devoted. I may be mistaken, of course, but I think that just at this juncture in our country we need especially to develop this attitude of mind; that just at this time we ought to apply the cold and impartial test of scientific reasoning, so far as possible, to the important concrete questions which are attracting so powerfully our attention.

Our newspapers, as a rule, even when they have upon their staffs men properly qualified to discuss these questions, do not allow them an opportunity to express their free and unbiased opinion. But having taken sides upon a public question; having determined that they will espouse the policy of one party or another; that they will espouse or oppose the President or other political party leader, every man in such an office is compelled to prostitute his talents in order to advance and represent the views of his paper, no matter how much they may be opposed to his own personal views. Whatever may be said of the legitimacy of such a system it is certainly not calculated to give an opportunity for the free and uninterrupted play of individual opinion. And as our newspapers are nearly all under the power of one or another illegitimate influence, looking at them from

the standpoint of public interest, we have almost ceased to have the kind of free and impartial discussion of public questions which it lies in the interest of the democracy to promote.

Under these conditions the average citizen is oftentimes at a serious loss to know exactly what the facts are in regard to any particular subject—still more at loss to know upon whose honest and independent judgment he may, to some extent, rely. We have had no better illustration of this than the attitude of the newspapers toward the Spanish war, and toward the Philippine embroglio which has grown out of that. If a newspaper has made up its mind to support the policy of the government, whatever that policy might turn out to be, it has had only foul epithets, or at least the most evil and unfair criticism for any one who was inclined to raise the question, whether this subject ought to be more fully discussed before it was settled, or whether we ought to consider the question at least in all of its aspects and try and settle it in the thoughtful way rather than by mere haphazard.

As said before, the Academy takes no attitude upon these and similar questions. It is neither for nor against the policy of the United States in the Spanish war. It is neither for nor against the policy of the President in the Philippine matter, but it is profoundly interested in securing a fair and full discussion of these questions in all their various ramifications.

We are fortunate to-night in having with us a gentleman who has distinguished himself throughout his career for independence of judgment and plain speaking. He has spoken the truth as God has given him to see the truth, without fear or favor. He has had experience in almost every line of public service in the United States. He has seen our politics and our administrative system from every point of view. His opinions, therefore, whether in our opinion sound or not, have the advantage of being based upon a long experience and an

extensive knowledge of men and things. He has filled many positions of public trust, and has graced them all. He has discussed many subjects of public policy, and has illuminated them all. We are glad that in the presentation of one aspect of this important question before the American public, we have a man of such ability and of such straightforward honesty to present, what it is true, may be only his own views, and with which we may not agree, but which will have the great advantage of being the honest and outspoken and the uninfluenced views of an experienced public man.

I cannot drop this subject without making one more point which we Americans are sometimes apt to lose sight of. We are aware, of course, of the great influence of the foreign element in our midst. We know what opportunities we have offered to the foreigner. We realize to some extent what he has done for us. The immigrant of the last two generations has built our railways, has dug our canals, and has settled up our unoccupied territory, and has helped us fight through one of the great civil struggles of our history.

All this we recognize, all this we appreciate, but I am afraid we do not always recognize so fully what contributions the same class of people have made to the ideal sides of our life. And in the career of the gentleman who is to address us this evening we have a striking illustration of the service which the educated, thoughtful foreigner may do for the higher sides of American life. Mr. Schurz has stood from the beginning of his career for the best things, and for the emphasis of the best things in American politics. He comes from a country with whose form of government and political institutions Americans have as a rule very little sympathy, but he has demonstrated in his own career how a man may be thoroughly devoted and patriotic to the best interests of the German people, and at the same time one of the most devoted and patriotic of American citizens. We may

well be proud of the fact that such a career as that of Mr. Schurz's is possible in the United States, and be grateful that men have been found strong enough to run it.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you the Honorable Carl Schurz who will address you on the subject of " Militarism and Democracy."

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### THE EAST AND THE WEST.

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*Introductory Remarks on the Political Relations of the United States with the Far East, at the Evening Session, Saturday, April 8, 1899.*

Professor JAMES:—Members and guests of the Academy: Dr. Charles C. Harrison, provost of the University, who had kindly consented to preside this evening, begs to be excused on account of a severe cold, which has deprived him temporarily of the use of his voice.

I think those of us who have lived during the last decade of this century must congratulate ourselves that we have been living in one of the most interesting periods, not only of the last hundred, but of the last three hundred, or even of the last five hundred years. We can take up no newspaper in these days without finding something which reminds us that we are a part of the great world which has its limits no longer in the civilized life of Europe and the nations which were the outgrowth of that, but which extends to the uttermost confines of the globe and includes practically to-day, as never before in the history of the world, the whole human race. The astonishing developments in all parts of the earth, which owing, among other things to the steam-engine and the telegraph, have become a part of our daily information and our daily interest, have brought us together and made us feel the solidarity of the whole human kind in a way quite unparalleled at any previous time.

I am inclined to think that when the historian of this century comes to describe the great events which have taken place within it he will find nothing more significant and more important in the great events which will follow in the next and in the succeeding centuries—nothing which will be, in his opinion, more remarkable than the new contact of the Orient and the Occident. There is nothing of deeper significance in the Napoleonic campaigns, or in the struggle for the reconstruction of Europe beginning in 1848 and ending in 1871, or in our own great struggle for national unity, or in the brief conflict which marked the passing of Spain as a great colonial power,—I say in none of these events is there a more important significant prophetic element than in the awakening of Japan and China and of the ever hastening process of union between the East and the West.

We are fortunate in having with us for the discussion of the question which the Academy has selected for this evening's session, namely, "The Relations of the East and the West" a group of men who are competent to speak on this topic, as perhaps no other equal group of men to be found in this country.

In the first speaker we have a distinguished member of the Academy who is known by reputation to the entire country, and whose career has been an honor to the profession to which he belongs. He has in his own work afforded us a striking example of the all-compelling power of expert knowledge and ability even over political partisanship and political influences which would gladly have managed things alone if they could have done so.

The political authority of the country in our last crisis was compelled at more than one time to call upon the patient and thorough knowledge of the scholar, and in no case was this policy more profoundly vindicated than that of the Honorable John Bassett Moore, of Columbia University, who will open this discussion.

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MAY, 1900

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Addresses at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Amer-  
ican Academy of Political and Social  
Science, April 19-20, 1900.

PHILADELPHIA:

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

ENGLAND: P. S. King & Son, 2 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S. W. FRANCE:

L. Laroze, rue Soufflot 22, Paris. GERMANY: Mayer & Müller, 2 Prinz Louis Ferdi-

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# CORPORATIONS AND PUBLIC WELFARE

ADDRESSES

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
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NEW YORK

PUBLISHED FOR THE AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, BY  
MCCLURE, PHILLIPS & CO.

1900

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# I

## THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴, ∴ ∴



**THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITA-  
TIONS OF MUNICIPAL CONTROL**

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*INTRODUCTORY*

**BY PROFESSOR L. S. ROWE**

**UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

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## THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF MUNICIPAL CONTROL.

### INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

Professor L. S. ROWE, University of Pennsylvania.

The duty of introducing the topic of this afternoon's session—"The Control of Public-Service Corporations"—demands that I should limit myself to the general principles involved rather than enter upon a detailed analysis of any one of the many phases of the question. The rapid changes in municipal policy during recent years makes this task all the easier, for in these changes the possibilities and limitations of municipal control are clearly reflected.

After a long and uninterrupted period of reckless franchise grants, we have suddenly awakened to the inconveniences of the situation. The increasing burden of local taxation has turned attention to the value of these franchises, and has given rise to a very definite demand that they be made a more important factor in the income account of the municipality. But here the opinion of the community divides, one group favoring a system which will compel the companies operating under the franchises to give a larger return for the privileges enjoyed, the other advocating direct municipal operation of the whole class of public-service industries. Widely divergent as these views are, they have one trait in common—to secure a larger return to the public treasury and thus relieve the burden of taxation. This view of the relation of the public-service industries to the public has been greatly strengthened by glowing accounts of European municipalities, where, we are assured, taxes are gradually disappearing because of a careful husbanding of public right and public property. We are even told that Glasgow is able to dispense with taxation and is now supporting herself with the proceeds of municipal public works.

The truth or falsity of these statements is not a matter with which we are concerned in the present connection, although I may say in passing that they are very far from the actual situation. My only purpose in citing them is to show the phase of the question which arouses the greatest interest in the American public.

But is this the only, is it even the most important, aspect of the problem? In dealing with corporations enjoying public franchises should the control of the municipality have as its main end the exacting of the largest possible pecuniary return for the privileges granted? If this be the case, the form of control will be exclusively financial and will end at the point at which the maximum money sum is assured. The tendency toward this interpretation is so strong, and, as I view the situation, so completely out of harmony with the best interests of the community that, unless speedily checked, the growing body of opinion in this field of municipal affairs is likely to be turned in the wrong direction.

To explain this attitude we must look to one of the peculiarities of American institutional growth. In no other country has there been so complete a differentiation between the political life of the community on the one hand, and its social and industrial activity on the other. We fail to distinguish between the "city" and the "municipality" and constantly reason as if the interests to be safeguarded are those of the public authority and the public treasury rather than those of the body of citizens considered as members of the community. In emphasizing the interest of the government, *quâ* government, we lose sight of the interests of the citizen. To such a point has this been carried that questions of governmental power are viewed exclusively as political rather than as economic and social problems. No attempt is made to bring governmental action into organic relation with the political and social life of the community. When, therefore, the problem of control over public-service corporations arises, the only question seems to be: "How

much can the public treasury obtain from such corporations?"

This narrow and one-sided view of the situation fails to take into account the important part which the street railway, water and gas service play in the daily life of the community. Under ordinary circumstances a reduction in taxation of five mills, or even of five cents per hundred dollars valuation, means little or nothing to the welfare of the community, no matter how cordially welcomed by the taxpayer. On the other hand, a reduction of street railway fares from six to five or four cents, or what is even more important, a change in motor power, which increases the rate of speed from seven to fifteen miles an hour, means a revolution in housing conditions and a strengthening of the industrial efficiency of the whole community. Similarly, a reduction in the price of gas from one dollar to fifty cents per thousand cubic feet may work far-reaching changes in industry, giving a new lease of life to the small producer through the introduction of the gas engine. The substitution of the gas for the coal-stove, which a low price of gas makes possible, is certain to work radical changes in the housekeeping problem. In a city like Glasgow, for instance, where under municipal operation the price of gas has been reduced with each advance in the economy of production, the diet of the laboring classes has undergone radical changes directly traceable to the economical cooking facilities thus offered. In Paris, on the other hand, where the public authority has been mainly interested in the annual return to the public treasury, petroleum still remains the illuminant of the poorer class and the variety of food is limited by the expensiveness of cooking. I take these instances from European cities because in the United States, owing to the higher rate of wages, the pressure has not been so keenly felt. We have hardly begun to realize the significance of a low price of gas to the social well-being of the community. The same is true of the water and street railway services.

When, therefore, we examine the status of the class of corporations under consideration, not merely in relation to the city government as such, but also in their broader relation to the interest and welfare of the whole community viewed as a group of consumers, the purely financial aspects of the question assume a position of secondary importance. We then see that the real test of efficient municipal control is to be found in the cost and quality of service rather than in the money return for the franchises granted.

The moment the interest of the consumer rather than that of the public treasury enters as the guiding principle in the control of the public-service corporations, it becomes necessary to examine each service with reference to the social and economic welfare of the community in order to determine where the emphasis of control is to be laid. In the gas service, for instance, the public is primarily interested in a low cost of service in order to utilize, to the fullest extent, the varied possibilities of gas as an illuminant, motor power and for purposes of heating and cooking. With the recent improvements in the mechanism of illumination we are rapidly approaching a point at which the candle power of the gas will be of secondary importance.

In the street railway service, on the other hand, rapidity of transportation, combined with comfort and convenience, are the primary requisites. With the higher rate of wages prevailing in American cities low fares must be placed second to the above requirements, and last of all comes the money payment to the city treasury for the privileges granted to the corporations performing the service. In other words, given the conditions of life in American communities, the emphasis must be laid on rapidity and comfort of service.

It may be that in European cities the most important end to be attained is cheapness of service, but this is simply another illustration of the fact that the question of control must be settled with reference to the peculiar needs of each locality. Given the antagonism to the tenement house

system characteristics of most American communities and the larger area covered by our cities which is the direct result of the demand for individual homes; rapidity of transportation is indispensable and must be assured at any cost.

A comparison of the experience of American and European—particularly Continental municipalities in dealing with public-service corporations throws considerable light on the contrast between the two points of view above outlined. From the earliest establishment of a water, gas and street railway service, we find the authorities of European cities on the alert to obtain for the city the largest possible money return for privileges granted. Cheapness of service occupied a position of secondary importance, while efficiency, rapidity and convenience played but an unimportant part in determining the character of municipal control. The result has been that while the public-service corporations have been making large contributions to the public treasury, they have failed to make the improvements necessary to efficiency of service. The heavy fixed charges to which they were subjected combined with the low cost of service imposed upon them, discouraged experimentation with new methods and made the companies reluctant to make any radical changes involving the investment of large quantities of capital. The primitive system of urban transportation, which until within the last few years has been inflicted upon the population of European cities, has worked greater harm to the health, social condition and industrial efficiency of the population than can be calculated in a money sum. The evils of overcrowding, of which the unsatisfactory housing conditions are the most conspicuous, are directly traceable to the lack of a well-developed system of urban communication. It is a significant fact that in European cities the most efficient service is had through direct municipal operation, where considerations other than pecuniary profit are given due weight.

This sharp and striking contrast between European and American methods of granting franchises and of controlling public-service corporations contains a number of important lessons, both positive and negative. If we view the problem as a relationship between the corporations offering the service and the mass of consumers, we are forced to recognize that the absence of provisions for adequate pecuniary return for the privileges granted has not been without incidental benefit to the community. It has fostered a readiness to introduce improvements demanding enormous outlays of capital, to welcome the application of new motor forces, to experiment with the one-fare system; in short, to take risks which in the long run have proved great public benefits. It is true that so far as the corporations were concerned these public benefits were incidental to the larger profits which they were seeking, but they remain none the less public benefits.

It is very far from my purpose to establish the rule that the fewer the conditions placed upon a franchise grant the greater will be the benefit to the community, but rather to enforce the principle that the conditions prescribed should relate, first, to the quality of the service, secondly, to its cost, and only after these requirements have been fulfilled should the money payment to the city be considered.

With the emphasis laid upon these elements, the problem of public control is simplified rather than complicated. Both as to quality and cost of service the community can readily form a correct opinion. The population is not dependent upon the municipal authorities for the data from which to form a judgment. Nor is there the same possibility of evasion, which is a constant menace to the effectiveness of purely financial control. There is hardly a city in the United States which has been able to secure for itself the stipulated participation in the profits of these companies. Whenever an actual money payment is in question, the temptation to evade it through the use of insidious corrupting influences

seems irresistible. In this field our administrative machinery is unable to cope with corporate power.

None of the recommendations thus outlined will dispense with the necessity of a careful control over the financial and administrative methods of these public-service corporations. This phase of the question will be so fully developed by the speakers who are to follow that I do not feel it necessary to say more than that the enforcement of this form of control will aid materially in demanding the kind of service which the community has a right to expect. At the present time we must accept without further question the statements of the officials of such companies as to the limit of concession which they are able to make. In order to make control effective, the public authority must be in a position to inform itself by independent examination.

This brings us to one phase of corporate financiering, the control of which constitutes the first step towards an effective supervision over this class of corporations, viz., the operations incidental to leasing, combination and consolidation. Given our system of constitutional protection to property rights, it is evident that if the public-service corporations are to be permitted to combine on such terms as they may see fit to adopt, the problem of control is greatly complicated owing to the capitalization of future profits which usually accompanies consolidation. Under such circumstances it often becomes impossible for a company to meet the legitimate demands of the public without doing serious injustice to the purchasers of the stock representing the inflated capitalization, and, what is even more important, the public authority is unable to force any concessions owing to the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbids a state—or any of its agents—from depriving a person of property without due process of law.

We are here face to face with one of the most difficult aspects of the question—the problem of maintaining public control

throughout the process of consolidation and after such consolidation has been effected.

As long as public opinion remained unalterably opposed to combinations between public-service corporations it was almost, if not quite impossible to devise or enforce any system of control. Legislation was confined, in the main, to strongly worded prohibitions which were evaded with ease and which contributed much to foster the feeling of mutual distrust between the public and the corporations. During recent years, however, there has been a marked movement of opinion towards a recognition of the fact that in this class of industries free competition is no guarantor either of cost or quality of service, and that the possibilities of control are strengthened by the unity of management which accompanies monopoly. We are now beginning to see that many of the most serious difficulties of control would have been avoided if, from the very start, we had recognized the advantages of monopoly instead of attempting the hopeless task of establishing a form of free competition which could not, in the nature of things, be maintained. The practical question before us at present is to facilitate such combination, maintaining at the same time public supervision over the conditions under which such combination is effected. As has already been pointed out, to permit the consolidating companies to capitalize future profits, binds the hands of the public authorities in their efforts to obtain greater efficiency or lower cost of service. If this danger be avoided, a conditional monopoly will offer the best means of improving the service. The municipality can make its control intensive instead of extensive, it can always hold a definite and relatively small number of persons responsible for the kind of service offered to the public, and finally, it can the more readily enforce a strict control over the finances of the corporation.

The enjoyment of monopoly during good behavior places the company in a position to take larger risks than would

be the case if the field were divided amongst a dozen or more competitors. Experimentation with new methods can only be safely carried on when the capital at the disposal of the concern is so large as to make success or failure a matter of indifference to its financial stability. This is particularly true of those corporations the nature of whose business enables them to experiment on definite portions of their plant without involving the whole. Furthermore, the advantage of co-ordinating the different parts of the street railway, gas or water system is evident at a glance. The benefit derived by the public is not so much in the economy of administration and operation thus effected as in the possibility of more readily adjusting the service to the changing needs of the community.

From this analysis of the possibilities of municipal control, it is clear where the emphasis must be laid if these services are to contribute to the welfare of the community within the full measure of their possibilities. As we advance from a narrower to a broader concept of government, as we begin more fully to appreciate the far-reaching effect of slight changes in quality and cost of service upon the industrial efficiency and social well-being of the community, we will be more ready to give due weight to the various elements involved in the control over public-service corporations.

The foregoing discussion of the possibilities of municipal control has given a clue to some of the limitations and dangers to which such control is subjected. To complete the analysis we must examine some recent industrial changes which have already introduced profound modifications into the problem of municipal control, and which bid fair to bring about changes of even greater importance in the near future.

We have become so accustomed to regard the gas, water and street railway services as purely local in character, that the adaptation of our administrative machinery to the new

conditions under which these industries are now carried on is extremely slow and is attended with great difficulty. The forces at work in destroying the local character of these industries are increasing in strength at a rate which must soon compel a readjustment of the system of control.

The first of these influences is the rapid growth of the suburban districts of our larger cities, offering profitable opportunity for the extension of the gas, water and street railway services beyond the limits of the city. With every such extension the economy of production and distribution has been increased and has finally led to the total disregard of municipal, county or township lines. As regards the water service this movement has been further strengthened by the necessity of seeking sources of supply at great distances from the distributing centers. The economy of supplying all the localities along the route dictates the inclusion of a considerable section of a state within the area of exploitation of a single company.

In the case of the street railways, the change in motor power from horse to electricity has completely revolutionized the service; furnishing the most striking instance of the changed relation of the municipality to this class of industries. What was once a purely local means of transportation has already become inter-urban and will soon constitute a network of communication throughout the various states.

As a direct result of these changes two important questions present themselves:

First, Can the municipality still be regarded as the effective unit of control over this class of corporations? and

Secondly, Can the state permit the municipality to fix the conditions under which these industries may be carried on?

One of the first principles of governmental control over industry is that the unit of control must not be inferior to the unit of exploitation; that is to say, the power of the public authority must, at least, be coterminous with the field of operation of the industry. This has ceased to be

the case with the street railway companies, and, to a certain degree, with the water and gas companies. Just as the difficulties of state control over corporations, particularly transportation companies doing an interstate business forced us into national control, so the extension of the municipal public-service industries beyond the limits of the municipality will force the substitution of some larger administrative unit—possibly the state itself—as the controlling authority.

The ease with which local control is evaded by companies operating one system through a number of municipalities immediately suggests itself as the most important argument in favor of a change in the form of control. All that is necessary is a skillful manipulation of accounts by which those portions of a street railway line or water plant which happen to be under the supervision of the most troublesome local authorities are burdened with an undue proportion of fixed charges and operating expenses. When, as in Massachusetts, it is not uncommon for a street railway company to operate under franchises from ten, and in one case from nineteen different towns, independent municipal control is out of the question. The state railroad commission is the recognition in law of this condition of fact.

The dangers involved in independent municipal control are not confined, however, to the mere question of corporate supervision but include the efficiency of the service as well. In fact this is by far the most important aspect of the question. The traditions of local self-government in which we have been trained lead us to regard municipal control over the granting of franchises with the same unquestioned assurance as the ownership of the public highways, in fact the former as part of and incident to the latter.

The harmony between these two powers remained undisturbed as long as the effects of local control did not extend beyond the limits of the municipality. With the expansion of the public-service industries, however, an entirely new

situation confronts us. Territorial districts larger than the municipality, yes, even the state itself, have a real, a vital interest in the conditions of a franchise grant. The state can no more permit one or two towns to hold up a great system of public transportation or the inter-urban distribution of water or gas, than it can tolerate the blocking of great public improvements by individual property owners.

Nor is this difficulty likely to disappear. Municipalities are being subjected to increasing temptations to exploit their strategic position by placing extortionate burdens upon public service companies. Here again the tendency to lay exclusive emphasis upon the money return for the franchises, rather than upon quality of service, increases the danger of conflict between the interests of the local treasury and the community at large. The only possible outcome of the situation will be that the conditions of franchise grants by local authorities will be subject to review by a state board, or that the state law will set the terms or at least the limits of local authority.

To sum up briefly the conclusions of this introductory discussion: An attempt has been made to show that the municipal public service industries must be considered in their relation to the industrial progress and social welfare of the community and that the relation between the municipality and the corporations performing these services must be adjusted with this end in view. Pecuniary return must be subordinated to quality and cost of service. Keeping both of these in view, it is evident that the old opposition to combination and monopoly in this class of services is out of harmony with the best interests of the community.

Finally, the changes in the conditions of these industries themselves has threatened, and promise still further to undermine the efficiency of municipal control. In the readjustment which must soon be made, municipal control must be subordinated to the larger interests of the state.

THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC SER-  
VICE CORPORATIONS. FINANCIAL  
CONTROL—CAPITALIZATION ∴ ∴ ∴

BY BIRD S. COLER,  
COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



## THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS. FINANCIAL CONTROL— CAPITALIZATION.

Address of BIRD S. COLER, Comptroller of the City of New York.

Overcapitalization of corporations is frequently resorted to as a means to cover up exorbitant profits. Parsons, in his admirable book entitled "The City for the People," defines overcapitalization as "the twin sister of extortion," and says that "both arise naturally from the desire to squeeze as much wealth as possible out of the people and keep the people quiet during the process. Get a franchise, issue a lot of stock, keep enough of it to retain control of the enterprise, sell the rest, build your plant, bond it for all it is worth and recoup all you put into the concern, then double up the stock and keep adding to it as the business grows, so that an actual profit of 20, 50 or 100 per cent on the real investment will be only 5 or 6 or 7 per cent on the bonds and stock, and so *appear on the face of the accounts* to be only a reasonable profit, not likely to arouse opposition or set in motion the legislative or administrative machinery for the reduction of the rates—this is the normal monopolistic plan."

In this connection it may be mentioned that a special committee of the Assembly of the State of New York appointed in 1895 recommended bills limiting capitalization of public service companies to one and one-half times the cost of construction, and providing for decreased charges for service whenever 5 per cent on capital was earned.

The capitalization of public service corporations becomes of great moment to the municipality exercising control where the cash return to the municipality is based upon the net earnings of the corporation. Fortunately we have few instances of this in our municipality, and every case is constant source of trouble to the city.

The Dry Dock, East Broadway and Battery Railroad, which pays to the city of New York 5 per cent on net proceeds of the Grand Street branch only, and a portion of the system of the Manhattan Elevated Railroad, which is chargeable with 5 per cent of its net receipts, are the only corporations which pay a franchise tax based upon net profits. Others pay a certain percentage of their gross receipts, which under the Act of 1884, amounts to 3 per cent of the gross receipts for the first five years and 5 per cent thereafter in cities with a population of two hundred and fifty thousand or over. In smaller towns the local authorities may require a maximum of 3 per cent of gross receipts. Still others pay a license fee of fifty or twenty-five dollars per car, and in a few cases charters were granted by the legislature without compensation, or providing for a small fixed payment, as in the case of the Houston Street, West Street and Pavonia Ferry, where one thousand dollars per annum is the sum stipulated, although this company also pays car fees of fifty dollars per car.

The management of ferries belongs to the Department of Docks and Ferries, subject to the supervisory control of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, who must lease them on competitive bids for not over ten years at a time. Some of our ferries pay as franchise tax, certain percentages of their gross receipts, others fixed sums besides wharf rent. The compensation for other privileges granted by the city is variously arranged; pipe line franchises being leased at fixed rentals, while gas and steam companies pay either a certain percentage on gross revenue obtained from all public and private customers, or a small amount per foot for each lineal foot of mains and pipes laid. This latter provision for compensation, in the case of the New York Steam Company, is limited so that when \$150,000 has been paid in by the company to the city, the franchise shall have been considered to be paid in full.

In the case of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical

Subway Company and the Empire City Subway Company, the company is obligated to pay to the city treasury all its net earnings in excess of 10 per cent cumulative upon the actual cash capital invested by it in providing, constructing and equipping its subways. In connection with this company, it is interesting to note that its sworn returns for the years 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1896 show that in every instance the net income is less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the cost of construction as stated. As the company is entitled to 10 per cent cumulative upon its cash capital invested, the chance of the city obtaining something in return for the franchise given is indeed remote. The compensation for street vault privileges is usually fixed at a certain price per square foot of space occupied. It appears, therefore, that in this city there is a great variety in the method of requiring compensation for franchises granted.

If the policy of basing the city's revenue upon the entire gross receipts of public service corporations could be universally adopted and adhered to, there would seem to be little necessity for anxiety or concern in regard to the question of capitalization, excepting where a readjustment of percentages is deemed necessary, or municipal ownership of these corporations is proposed.

Touching this matter of municipal ownership in connection with the subject of capitalization, it is interesting to note that some of the early charters contain provisions allowing the city of New York to acquire roads at their actual cost after a certain time. In such cases it becomes an interesting question how the actual cost is to be ascertained. It certainly should not be determined by the promulgated capital of the concern.

Mayor Grace in vetoing the franchises of the cable railway in 1886, stated that in 1884 the capital of the surface railways in operation was \$15,707,753, and the bonded debt, \$11,266,665; that in that year  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent dividends on the average had been paid on the capital and 6 8-10 per cent

interest on the bonds, and he declared it more than a fair assumption to place the actual cost of their construction and equipment at the aggregate of their bonded indebtedness, so that on this basis the dividends and interest paid would represent a return of 27 per cent on the bona fide investment.

The Supreme Court of the United States (148 U. S., pp. 312, 327), in referring to the subject of determining the amount of capitalization in order to ascertain the fair valuation of a plant, the purchase of which is contemplated, made the following declaration: "The value of property, generally speaking, is determined by its productiveness and profits which the use brings to the owner; the value is not determined by the mere cost of construction." In another case in Pennsylvania (144 Pa. St. 365, 374 and 375), decided in 1891, the court said: "Value is to be ascertained not only by the cost of the structure, but also by the value of the franchise. The value of the company's franchise depends largely on its earning capacity."

By the Massachusetts Lighting Law, which provides for municipal purchase of gas and electric plants, the price of the property "shall be its market value for the purposes of its use (no portion of such plant to be estimated, however, at less than its fair market value for any other purpose), including as an element of value the earning capacity of such plant based upon the actual earnings being derived from such use at the time of the final vote. Such value shall be estimated without enhancement on account of future earning capacity or good will or of exclusive privileges derived from rights in the public streets."

The Hon. Henry Winn, a high authority, views this matter in a different light. He gives it as his opinion that the people should pay only for what they get in tangible property and private rights not derived free from the public, and not for the franchise. I recall the following quotation from Bemis' "Municipal Monopolies": "The question of compensation for franchises is one of the most difficult in

the whole range of municipal laws. Happy is the city or town that can solve the problem by keeping its franchises from the start or by putting conditions in the franchise grants securing fair rates and good services and providing that after ten, twenty or thirty years the whole property, franchise and physical plant, in good condition, shall become public property without further compensation." Durand, in his work on the Finances of New York City, calls attention to the fact that the experience of foreign cities with railways and lighting plants, and especially the success of municipal ownership of these enterprises, has been largely cited by the advocates of reform. In Berlin, for instance, the Consolidated Railway Company, besides having made large cash payments for the original franchises, pays  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of its gross receipts, reimburses the city for paving and cleaning between its tracks, and in 1911 the entire system will become the property of the city without cost.

In many other continental cities a similar provision for reversion of the tracks to the public exists. The absurd practice of granting perpetual franchises is almost unknown. The same is true in Great Britain. Manchester, Birmingham and a large number of other cities own the tracks and lease them to private companies at very favorable terms, while half a dozen or more cities, the most important being Glasgow and Bradford, actually operate the systems by municipal employes and with marked success. Many of the English cities alike own and operate lighting plants, and though furnishing service at rates much lower than are common, would succeed in earning a handsome net revenue. The fact cannot be overlooked, however, that the conditions of employment in the civil service of these cities is very different from what exists in this country, and that it is far more favorable to the practical success of operation of business enterprises by municipalities. The city of New York would seem to have achieved a large measure of success in respect to conserving to the public the value of public

franchises in its scheme for the construction of the great subway of the Rapid Transit Railroad.

And now let me say a few words as to methods of accounting. As has been stated before, so long as public service corporations pay to municipalities granting them their franchises a compensation based upon the entire gross receipts, the municipality need not concern itself with the matter of the company's capitalization, but it oftentimes happens that revaluations of these privileges become necessary, and in these days of municipal reform and progress, the acquisition by purchase by the municipality of the privileges and plant is likely at any time to be carried into effect.

It becomes then, a matter of importance that the books of account of all public service corporations should contain a true, perfect and complete record of their finances, so that reliable statements of financial status can easily be extracted therefrom. As a means to this most desirable end, I am inclined to favor, first—uniformity of accounting methods to be prescribed by the comptroller for corporations engaged in the same business as, for instance, street railroads, gas and electric illuminating companies, etc.; and, second—that these books of account should, at all reasonable times, be open to the inspection of the comptroller or his representative. While I favor this restriction upon public service corporations, I would go further and welcome legislation which would provide for financial statements certified by disinterested accountants and a strict official scrutiny of the accounts of all corporations, the stock and bonds of which are offered as an investment to the general public.

Speaking broadly, the books should be so kept that revenue of every kind and nature, and the sources thereof, will be clearly shown, and that disbursements will be classified as operating or capital expenditures. A sharp distinction should also be made between extensions of plant and renewals, replacements and ordinary repairs. Too often is it the case that expenditures for renewals of plant are added to

the "plant account," with absolutely no deduction for loss, nor any allowance for deterioration. True inventories frequently give the lie to apparently well kept book accounts.

How shall the city be compensated for these valuable franchises? As to railroads, our own state law provides for a sale at auction to the bidder offering the highest percentage of gross receipts, in no case to be less than the three and five per cent minimum previously fixed, and in some of our ferry leases the minimum sum to which these gross receipt percentages shall amount to, is fixed. In some respects, this method of taxation is desirable because it is easy of computation and proof, and is fair alike to the public corporation and to the municipality itself.

In the State of New York there is a genuine and rapidly growing popular interest in these matters, which was responsible for the enactment of the Franchise Tax Law by the legislature in 1899. This law which is designed to subject to annual taxation the full value of the franchises of corporations making use of the streets and avenues of cities, is far more sweeping in its provisions than any of the laws heretofore enacted, which provide for levying contributions based on either gross or net receipts or earning power on any form. If it is found to operate satisfactorily it will undoubtedly supplant the latter method of taxing franchises. The law itself provides that corporations subject to this franchise tax shall be entitled to deductions for amounts paid locally by way of percentages on earnings, etc. It is manifest that if this substitution in the method of assessment should become general, the whole question now under consideration would become of merely academic interest, and the collection of taxes on franchises would be immeasurably simplified.



**THE DIFFICULTIES OF CONTROL  
AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE HIS-  
TORY OF GAS COMPANIES ∴ ∴**

**BY PROFESSOR JOHN H. GRAY**

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## THE DIFFICULTIES OF CONTROL, AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE HISTORY OF GAS COMPANIES.

Professor JOHN H. GRAY, Northwestern University.

One of the most striking things in the political, industrial, and administrative development in America, is the fact that conditions grow up, develop, and press for a solution long before the most advanced thinker has worked out any theory of how to deal with them.

We are in an age of marked increase and concentration of machinery and industry under corporate management. So long as we expect to make material progress, we must apparently not only expect this movement to continue, but also to increase in intensity. The size, too, of the individual corporation is likely to grow.

We have discovered no other form of voluntary organization capable of carrying the world's progress forward. Whatever may be said of government socialism as a remedy, it is not likely, in our day, to drive all the public-service corporations from the field, or even to do away with the particular kind of corporation now under discussion.

If, then, the privately owned corporations have come to stay, what can we do to lessen and curb the unmistakable evils connected with them, at the same time that we render more satisfactory the service furnished by them, and encourage private enterprise?

Let us confine our attention at present to the gas industry. In the first place, we are fortunate in the kind of corporation selected. Whether we consider the question historically or theoretically, the incorporated gas company presents almost every interesting phase of what is known as the corporation problem.

Artificial illuminating gas is now about to enter upon its second century. Within recent years, three important competitors have entered the field; namely, petroleum, natural gas, and electricity. Nevertheless, artificial gas remains to-day, for the great majority of city dwellers, the most widely-used, the cheapest, and the safest means of both public and private lighting.

The supply of this service is recognized to-day by all competent students, if not by all voters and legislators, as one of the most perfect types of what are known as natural monopolies. The gas company usually requires, in addition to a franchise, a special local license for the use of the streets. When installed, the corporation comes perhaps into closer contact with both the individual consumer and the municipal government than almost any other corporation enjoying special privileges in the streets. Both the manufacture and distribution of gas are highly technical operations, requiring a considerable degree of skill. Of the cost or methods of these operations, the average consumer, under present conditions, can know nothing. The fluctuations in the price of materials, and the constant improvements in methods and processes of manufacture add to this difficulty. In fact, to say nothing of cost, the consumer is unable to determine for himself even the quality, purity, and safety of the article offered him. Some idea of the rapidity and wide-reaching influence of these changes can be seen if we recall the fact that within a period of about twenty years, one complete revolution in method of manufacture (involving almost a complete change in major and minor materials) has been wrought; while within the last five years changes have been introduced which those in control of the processes, believe will, in the immediate future, work a still greater revolution than that brought about by the introduction of water gas. This process involves a return to bituminous coal as the chief material, but by a change of method the gas becomes no longer the chief product or aim of the operation, but

merely the joint, and minor, or by-product, of a coke manufacturing plant.

It is, in my opinion, altogether too early to predict the outcome of the attempt to distribute coke-oven gas over great areas from a central plant. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the venture is in the hands of men powerful—both intellectually and financially; and, that the experiment has already gone far enough to call forth a large investment of fixed capital. This investment has, of course, already deeply affected the securities of the old companies in that vicinity; while the pressure for privileges for the coke-oven experiment, now in progress at Everett, caused the legislature of conservative Massachusetts to reverse entirely the policy of the state in regard to public-service corporations.

If anything further were necessary to prove that the gas companies are typical of the problems now uppermost in the public mind, a mere reference to the fact that the Bay State Gas Company of Delaware—of which more hereafter—a financial company organized chiefly to recapitalize the surplus of the Boston companies, has authorized an increase of its nominal capital, within a short time, to \$1,000,000,000—the largest nominal capitalization ever reached in the whole history of joint-stock companies.

So long as such changes in the industry as have taken place in the last two decades are in progress, or are even seriously anticipated, control of the companies, while all the more imperative, is doubly difficult to obtain with our weak condition of government. For, until the honest and well-meaning, but uninformed, voter has thoroughly discarded his instinctive faith in competition in this industry, any shrewd and unscrupulous manipulator who can get possession of patents for supposed improvements, can blackmail existing companies. Any refusal on the part of the old company to pay the tribute demanded by the holders of these patents, whether the patents promise to be useful or

not, means, in the present condition of public opinion, simply the introduction of a competing company, with its inevitable burdens for the consumers. This is all the more true so long as public opinion can be so easily manipulated.

So far a company has had to count on frequent attacks of this kind from the enemy, and has tried to adjust its income to meet them. But to do this it is necessary for it to keep all of its affairs as secret as does an army in the face of the enemy.

This is the key to the situation; and whatever policy of the state towards these corporations will tend most effectively to educate the voter as to the true nature of the companies and their business, is the best policy. It ought to be needless to say that until the average voter is much better informed in regard to the complexity and scientific needs of government and industry, public ownership will not bring about the desired results. It is safe to say that we have no governments to-day, state or local, capable of dealing satisfactorily with existing evils under any form of ownership or control, and that we shall have none until the mixed population of our cities realizes that non-partisanship, permanency of tenure, and high scientific qualification are requisite to successful administration of government, and especially to the successful public control of corporations.

This is perhaps as important a question as any with which the American public has ever had to deal. It should not escape observation that, in addition to being corporations liable to all the ills to which such bodies corporate are subject, these particular corporations operate almost entirely in the cities, and in a very important sense in the great cities, and thus touch the whole question of local and municipal government. It is doubtful if any considerable improvement in city government can be rationally looked for unless preceded by, or at least accompanied by, an improvement in the kind of corporation under consideration and in its relation to the public. The marvelous development of our cities

and our material resources in general, with the necessary haste and pressure accompanying it, has caused a general neglect of public affairs and, at the same time, has allowed evils in the management of public-service corporations to become truly gigantic before any unified body of knowledge grows up, and before public sentiment can be created and concentrated upon the evils. Above all, this haste, confusion, and absence of any principle of action has prevented effective public demand that the state should make any serious attempt to enforce even its common law right of supervision over corporations, or that it should reserve in the act of incorporation the additional statutory powers necessary to effectual control under modern complex conditions. Thus it is that the companies have in practice been able to maintain almost universal secrecy. They were allowed to run wild for so many years that they actually came to despise the state that created them, and to believe that this creator had no moral or legal power over them. If their beliefs did not go so far as this, their practice extended at least to a virtual denial of the right of the state to enforce even the rights expressly reserved to it by the charter. The managers went so far at one time as to claim that all knowledge of the affairs of the companies not only of right belonged exclusively to them, but also that such knowledge, if imparted, could have but little interest or value for any one else.

This chaotic condition lasted in the older states until after the Civil War, and has not yet disappeared from many portions of the country. There being during this period no popular or legislative appreciation of the monopolistic character of the industry, there is scarcely an important city in the United States—outside of Massachusetts, whose companies will receive special attention presently—in which rival gas companies have not, at one time or another, waged war upon one another. Partly from ignorance, partly from simple yielding to popular prejudice and clamor to catch

votes, the legislatures of all the more important states have, from time to time, passed prohibitory and penal statutes against the companies. But in no single instance, with the exception of Massachusetts already noted, has any effective machinery or organ of government been established to enforce the prohibitions and penalties. In many cases the language of the statutes was itself unintelligible. The principal ostensible object of the legislation of this period was to secure a safe gas, of good quality, at a fair price, by preventing excessive capitalization and excessive earnings. But all this legislation failed miserably because of the weakness, or complete lack, of administrative machinery to find what the companies were actually doing. Nothing was more common a generation ago, than for the charter to require a company to furnish a "good gas," or "as good gas" as some other company named, without any definition whatever of the phrase "a good gas" in the case of either company. From time to time the provision took a great variety of forms, all with the same vital weakness. No effective steps were taken in any of these cases to test the purity or illuminating power of the gas.

That corporations of all kinds were at that time simply treated as orphans and neglected by their parent, is proved by the fact that the legislatures of some of our best governed states often forfeited the charters of from 800 to 1,500<sup>1</sup> corporations by a single vote because the corporations could not be found by the tax assessor. Imagination cannot go so far as to suppose that a state exercises any effective control over corporations of whose very existence it is in doubt. Broadly speaking, the only supposed means of enforcing the provisions of the charter was by suits before the ordinary courts, brought either by individuals or by the attorney-general. For obvious reasons both means were impossible of practical application; and the prohibitions and penalties might as well have been left out of the statutes.

<sup>1</sup> See *Mass. Sen. Doc.* 37, 1892.

Such, in brief, is the attempt to settle the relation of the gas supply to the public in all the American states except Massachusetts, save in the few, and, for our present purpose, relatively unimportant attempts at public ownership. In Massachusetts the case is otherwise.

The development of the gas supply in Massachusetts<sup>1</sup> offers one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in the development of the modern business corporation. In the first place, the corporation laws of Massachusetts have, from the beginning of this form of doing business, been much more strict in both form and administration than those of any other of our states. Therefore, excessive capitalization was less frequent and corporate abuses, generally speaking, less flagrant than elsewhere. For this reason the field was less enticing to the unscrupulous promoter and blackmailer. Hence there were fewer competing companies with their train of evils. In fact, until the present generation, competition was prohibited by statute until companies exceeded a fixed rate of dividend for a considerable number of years. It is needless to say that under that law, whatever the possibilities, under the circumstances, companies found it expedient to keep formally within the legal rate of dividend.

With the then existing ideas of administration and control, the state was not in a position to compel from companies thus protected, good managements or efficient service. The result was, if not unlimited, at least irresponsible monopoly. For some occult reason unknown to me, but probably as a result of the general popular outcry then rife against monopolies, the legislature, in 1870, repealed this partial prohibition of competition.

For about a decade thereafter, the city government of Boston, which, according to the almost universal American custom of the time, had, under the authority of the legisla-

<sup>1</sup> A detailed history of the Boston gas supply has been published by the present writer in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" for July and October, 1898, and April and November, 1899.

ture, power over the question of competition in that city, refused to admit a competing company.

But so soon as the holders of water-gas patents gained considerable confidence in the value of the new processes, circumstances suddenly changed. No American city council could possibly stand out against the attacks and allurements of the promoters of water-gas processes. There were in the early eighties not less than six companies supplying gas within the limits of Boston. The exact extent of the respective portions of the city in which these companies might act has never been determined. Some of the companies, beyond question, had rights throughout the whole city. Some had come into the city only by annexations of territory. But whatever their legal rights, two of them—the Charlestown and East Boston—are cut off from competing with the others by natural boundaries. The remaining companies had, in fact, never attempted to compete, but by agreement, each had confined itself to an exclusive portion of the field. The legislature has never specifically limited dividends of the gas companies of Massachusetts nor, save by implication in the Act of 1855, limiting competition, has it expressed itself on the question of what is a fair rate of dividend for a gas company to pay. But traditions are often stronger than statutes, and for many years there has been a well established tradition that a gas company is entitled to charge prices sufficient to keep up the company and pay an annual dividend of 10 per cent on the capital actually contributed by the stockholders. Any attempt within recent years to pay more than this regularly, or to water the stock, has always irritated the public and in a short time usually got the company into trouble.

About 1880, when the new processes began to press for admission, the population and wealth of Boston, with the consequent increased demand for gas, caused a genuine embarrassment of riches to the Boston company, and the other larger companies in Massachusetts. Companies so situated

had for years, with secrecy of affairs and traditional prices, been able, from their annual earnings, to pay a 10 per cent dividend, increase their surplus and meet all reasonable demands for extension of manufacturing plant and distributing system. Being restrained by specific statute as well as tradition from stock watering, and not wishing, for obvious reasons, to reduce the price of gas, they suffered from abundance of earnings.

The condition of the Boston company was typical of that of all the stronger companies in the state wherever the companies had not evaded the stock-watering statutes. The Boston company from 1877 to 1892—fifteen years—put into new investment out of its earnings an amount equal to 9 per cent of its share capital, annually, met all its legitimate expenses, and paid 10 per cent dividend. At the end of this period, the company, although probably greatly under-assessed, paid taxes on \$4,129,900, with a total capitalization of \$2,500,000. In like manner all the gas companies of the state, with a total capitalization (stock and bonds) of \$11,731,850, were valued for taxation at \$12,189,768.

What a bonanza this, for any one who could overcome or evade or violate with impunity, the laws against stock watering! If an irresponsible monopoly, without any discoverable motive for enterprise, could, by old processes, earn about 20 per cent per annum, what could not be accomplished by the introduction of the much more economical, and to the populace little known, water-gas processes, especially if, at the same time, all the companies about Boston could be combined!

Such was the stake for which Mr. J. Edward Addicks began to play shortly after 1880. He met first the hard fact that Massachusetts was opposed to the consolidation of gas companies and that the statute (of 1880) defining the purity of gas, effectually barred the use of water-gas. This, with the virtual limitation of dividend to 10 per cent, and the actual prohibition of stock watering, might have deterred a less determined spirit.

The methods by which Mr. Addicks organized, under the general law, the Bay State Gas Company, of Massachusetts, in 1884, with the maximum legal capital of \$500,000, forced an ordinance through the council allowing him to parallel all the gas pipes in Boston in spite of all opposition; and then, despite statutory prohibitions and traditions against stock and debt watering, bonded the company for nine times its share capital, awoke the old companies, if not the populace.

That the statute against water gas did not frighten Mr. Addicks in the least, was shown by the fact that he proceeded to spend millions of dollars in constructing a water-gas plant, just as if the statute had never been passed. The old companies, which had not been so shaken up for thirty years, suddenly changed their attitude entirely on the legality and expediency of state interferences, and consequently on the private character of their business. Almost with one accord the companies of the state, under the leadership of the Boston company, combined in seeking the protection of the state against threatened competition. The companies, in the face of such danger, were willing to submit to control in return for a guarantee against competition. This move was started against the Bay State Company before that company effected an entrance into Boston. But Mr. Addicks had his forces well in hand, and got his ordinance, before the act creating the gas commission<sup>1</sup> went into force in June, 1885.

As the circumstances under which this commission was created were extraordinary, so the powers granted it were the most plenary ever given over any industry to any commission in this country.

Mr. Addicks, after many vain attempts to get legislative authority to consolidate all the companies in Boston and vicinity, organized a syndicate, bought nearly all the shares of the Boston, South Boston, and Roxbury companies, put

<sup>1</sup> The act is entitled "An act to create a board of gas commissioners." For the sake of brevity, I shall refer to the board as the gas commission.

these shares and those of the Bay State Company of Massachusetts in trust as security for the payment, principal and interest of twelve million of Boston United Gas Bonds issued by a New Jersey company, which afterward assigned to the Bay State Gas Company of Delaware—to which reference has already been made. When, therefore, Mr. Addicks had completed the large water-gas plant in Boston and got permission from the legislature to sell water gas, he found himself in control of these four large companies, whose stocks of about \$5,000,000 were in trust, and in control, also, of the purely financial or promoter's company, the Bay State Gas Company of Delaware. This Delaware company owned the \$4,500,000 obligation—an income bond entitled to nine-tenths of the earnings of the Bay State Company of Massachusetts—and the equity in the four Boston companies whose stocks were pledged for the payment of the \$12,000,000 of Boston United Gas Bonds. The companies were managed as a unit, the gas for them being largely manufactured in the new works of the Bay State Company of Massachusetts, and sold to the other companies for distribution.

The saving in administration was very great, while the effectiveness of the new water-gas process probably exceeded the expectations of its sanguine promoters.

The harvest, therefore, seemed complete. The income bond for \$4,500,000, which was largely water, received its 10 per cent per annum from the apparently tripled earnings of the Boston gas field. This remarkable result was achieved with a great improvement in the illuminating power of the gas, and with virtually no increase in price—although some slight discounts to a few large consumers were discontinued.

But this condition of affairs was not to last long. As in 1884 the field with its old processes, high prices, and great surpluses, had offered an irresistible temptation to the speculator and manipulator, so this prosperous condition appeared too valuable to be let alone by the public official with his eye ever on the popular vote.

On the plausible ground of excessive charges and enormous profits from an illegitimate monopoly, the then Mayor of Boston attacked, in 1893, the Bay State Gas Trust before the legislature and the gas commission, simultaneously, charging besides excessive prices, violation, or evasion of the law, in virtually consolidating the companies, and especially in issuing the four and a half million income bond for little or no consideration.

To compel favorable action on his petition by the legislature and the commission, the mayor, by a shrewd interpretation of the complex statutory powers of the municipality—an interpretation which technicalities have prevented the courts from passing upon—permitted a suburban company, the Brookline, then under control of the Standard Oil interests, to parallel all the gas pipes in Boston at its discretion. The Brookline Company agreed to furnish gas for both public and private use at prices much below those charged by the Bay State companies, and presumably much below actual cost to the Brookline Company itself.

This was a telling stroke, one that could not be successfully resisted by any department of government. The result of this attack was that the commission ordered a large reduction in the price of gas furnished by the Addicks' companies, while the legislature, under threat of forfeiture, squeezed \$3,000,000 out of the capitalization of the Bay State Company of Massachusetts—causing the cancellation of the \$4,500,000 obligation, or bond. Could the reduction of price and of capitalization have been effected without admitting the Brookline Company to Boston, the results might have been wholesome. As soon after the admission of the Brookline Company to Boston (February 27, 1893) as pipes could be laid, the first actual competition between gas companies in Boston began. This competition went on till May, 1896, when the Brookline Company had nearly two hundred miles of pipes in the best portions of Boston. The contest more than destroyed all dividends of the Brookline Company and

required the holders of the equity in the Bay State companies to raise large sums from outside sources to maintain the trust.

The agitation and investigations of 1893 convinced every one that the possibility of issuing the \$4,500,000 obligation had opened the way to manipulate the Boston Company. Therefore, the legislature was not satisfied with merely destroying that obligation, but wished, also, to make such issues impossible in the future. Until the entrance of Mr. Addicks to the Boston field, it was supposed that the statutes against stock watering effectively prevented such issues. By two acts of 1894, known as the anti-stock-watering acts, it is made illegal for any gas company to issue any stocks or bonds for any purpose except on conditions and for purposes approved by the commission, after a public hearing. While there are some grave dangers in these acts, they are, probably, taken all in all, the two most effective acts ever passed in this country to check corporate abuses. They, perhaps, place a greater burden on the commission, both as to work and discretion, than our government organs have usually proved themselves able to bear.

The commission has from its origin had complete powers of inspection over all the companies in the state—powers that can be delegated to experts. It also compels companies to keep their books and make their reports on a uniform system prescribed by the board. It has also had complete power over the price and quality of gas, save that initiative in regard to price and quality rests exclusively with consumers or the local public authorities.

As the desire to introduce a new process was the prime motive of Mr. Addicks in going to Boston in 1884, so in 1896, the possessors of patents for the so-called coke-oven process entered upon a remarkable struggle for admission to the Boston gas field. The appeal was made direct to the legislature for privileges by special act and for permission to consolidate all the existing companies and to contract with them at will for the sale of gas to them.

If the campaign of Mr. Addicks, from 1884 to 1893, changed the whole character of the Massachusetts Legislature, the appeal of Mr. H. M. Whitney and his friends for an opening for coke-oven gas in 1896 revolutionized legislative methods. This struggle took place during the most bitter competitive strife of the existing companies.

In spite of the advice of the gas commission (which had long before come to consider itself the expert arm of the legislature) and in spite of the united opposition of all the old companies, the charter of the Massachusetts Pipe Line Company was granted to the promoters of coke-oven gas in June, 1896.

Although it was impossible to prevent the granting of this charter, the opponents of the measure succeeded in amending the bill in such a manner as to make it seem inexpedient for the incorporators to undertake directly either consolidation or stock watering under it. Presumably Mr. Whitney believed that the new processes would work a genuine progress in the manufacture and sale of gas, but the facts show that his faith did not extend to the point of making him willing to undertake the experiment with his own capital. For, whatever the outcome may be, the venture was and is a hazardous experiment. Furthermore, with the limitation of dividend on actual investment to 10 per cent the possible gains were not a fair compensation for the risk involved. The Massachusetts Pipe Line Company was, much against the will of its promoters, placed under the jurisdiction of the gas commission, and especially under the anti-stock-watering acts of 1894.

It seemed for the moment as if the laws of Massachusetts against consolidation of corporations, leasing or selling of franchises and stock-watering had put a stop to industrial experiment with other people's money, and as if the world would have to wait longer for coke-oven gas. The owners of the new charter did not organize the company for more than a year. Meantime, they combined their forces with the Standard Oil holdings in the Brookline Company.

In May, 1896, the competition between the active companies ceased, by an agreement of the Addicks interest to buy out the opposition. But upon the failure of Mr. Addicks to raise the purchase money he was obliged to permit the management of all the Bay State companies to pass to his great rival in November, 1896. Those in control of the Brookline Company had already bought substantially all the shares of the Dorchester and Jamaica Plain companies.

These united forces then worked out what seems to me the most unique scheme to evade the corporation laws of a state, which can be found in all industrial history. They organized the New England Gas and Coke Company, a voluntary association. The articles of association embody all the essential provisions of limited liability found in the corporation laws. The association thus has the advantages of a corporation and escapes the dangers of partnership liability, the exclusive management of the property being in the hands of trustees. The ownership is represented by shares of the nominal value of \$100 each. These shares were authorized at once to the nominal amount of \$17,500,000 and a loan of \$17,500,000 was also authorized. Of course, there can be no limit to the capitalization of such a voluntary association in the shape of either bonds or shares, except the refusal of the public to advance money on them. Furthermore, the financial and industrial management of the enterprise are both placed substantially outside of the supervision or control of the public authority until legislation is radically changed. For tradition and legislation have been directed against corporations on the ground that they are artificial bodies, with special privileges, created for the public good, and therefore subject to regulation in the public interest.

But let us return to the financial operations of the Coke<sup>1</sup> Company. With the proceeds of the \$17,500,000 loan,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I shall for the sake of brevity refer to this voluntary organization, The New England Gas and Coke Company, simply as the "Coke Company."

<sup>2</sup> \$3,500,000 par value of this loan was reserved to raise working capital, and \$14,000,000 par value used for the purposes indicated here.

substantially all the stock (\$2,000,000) of the Brookline Company, the Dorchester Company (\$519,000), Jamaica Plain Company (\$250,000), and the Massachusetts Pipe Line Company (\$1,000,000), \$1,615,000 of the debt of the Brookline Company and \$1,000,000 (par value) of Boston United Gas bonds were purchased.

In addition to this, from the same source, the owners bought the land for and built the mammoth coke and gas plant at Everett. All these stocks (\$3,505,800 par value and bonds (\$2,615,000 par value), and all the manufacturing plant and other property of the association, were placed in trust to secure the loan of \$17,500,000 from which the purchase money for all the property put in trust was raised.

The Coke Company not being a corporation, and being virtually exempt from supervision, nobody but the trustees of the association know how much investment the plant represents. Interested parties wish the public to believe that the combined plants of the Pipe Line and Coke companies cost \$5,000,000. The Pipe Line Company is merely a go-between, being neither a manufacturer of gas nor a seller of gas to consumers. It merely furnishes a means of legal connection between the manufacturing plant of the Coke Company, which has no franchise or license, and the holders of the gas companies. On the one hand, the Coke Company makes contracts for the sale of gas to the Pipe Line Company, which is all owned by it; on the other hand, the Pipe Line Company sells gas to the old gas companies controlled by the same parties that control both the Coke Company and the Pipe Line Company. These old companies which are corporations subject to supervision become simply distributors.

The Coke Company is actually delivering gas under these peculiar circumstances—the same persons representing both sides in each of these contracts.

This statement shows how difficult control is, and that the theory of control breaks down at a point to which

attention has been little called. In fact, when commission control of corporations of any kind, and more especially of gas companies, was first seriously considered, there was apparently a well-grounded fear that the system might fail, first, from a deliberate and conscious misuse of the appointing power either by unfit appointment in the beginning or by frequent removals for partisan causes; second, that the commissioners, although honestly selected, would be corruptly influenced by the corporations under their control. Such an outcome in many of the states seems to me still possible. But so far as Massachusetts is concerned, these fears have proved perfectly groundless. Fairly good men have always been appointed on the gas commission; no member has ever been removed for any cause whatever; with but a single exception,<sup>1</sup> in fifteen years, no man who wished reappointment has failed to receive it. So that the members have actually remained on the board long enough to acquire a considerable degree of expert skill and experience such as ought to be of great value to the state. No serious charge of acting from any improper motive has ever been made public against the board as a whole or any one member of it.

At first blush, therefore, it would seem that commission control has been tried in Massachusetts under very favorable conditions. On the other hand, the most ardent advocate of this form of control could not, for a moment, maintain that the relation of the gas supply to the public in Massachusetts is at present reasonably satisfactory.

If, then, the system has not exhibited any of the evil results anticipated at the beginning, and, if the sum total of results has been disappointing, what is the explanation of this peculiar condition of affairs?

This question brings us to the real gist of the whole matter, and makes it necessary to call attention to certain funda-

<sup>1</sup> The members are appointed for three years by the governor with the consent of the council, the governor designating the chairman.

tal dangers in our political and industrial life—dangers which are often referred to, but rarely followed to their results in the practical affairs of government.

It has become a stock saying that our municipal government is a failure. It has certainly proved to be so in the large cities, as far as the gas supply is concerned. A prominent remedy for this failure is sought in establishing a more permanent administrative force in our cities. In other words, the movement towards civil service reform and the concentration of power in the hands of the mayor is now the sovereign cure in the popular mind for existing evils. This popular tendency is probably worthy of encouragement. But so long as the office of mayor is not a professional one which satisfies the life ambition of the incumbent, and so long as partisanship on national party lines dominates municipal elections, we ought not to forget that the mayor has the same motives and temptations for playing politics, and appealing to the ignorance of the voter, that the members of the council had before the movement for this concentration of power set in.

The history of the gas supply of Boston in the last eight years will illustrate this point. In the last fifteen years, in addition to concentrating municipal power in the hands of the mayor, Massachusetts has attempted also to curtail municipal power by virtually taking the control of the gas supply and various other industries out of the hands of the municipality and putting it under the direct supervision of the state. Furthermore, in strict conformity to the predominant scientific theory of the day, Massachusetts, by the creation of the gas commission in 1885, also tried to take the gas companies out of the range of legislative interference and control, and to put them under a strictly administrative control. This was supposed to mark a great step forward at the time; and in my opinion it was a move in the right direction. However, the promoters of it did not take account of certain great difficulties in putting this

theory into practical operation. The advocates of state as distinct from city control, and of administrative as distinct from legislative control, did not fully realize that the same forces stampeded the Boston city council under the old city charter in 1885, and admitted the Bay State Company to Boston, carried the mayor off his feet under the new charter in 1893, brought in the competition of the Brookline Company, and granted the pipe line charter in 1896. So long as our political and economic conditions remain at all what they are now, these same forces will attempt first to stampede the commission. So far they have failed to break through the line at this point. But they have not given up the campaign on that account. It is theoretically possible for these forces to stampede the legislature and force it to abolish the commission, or to destroy its usefulness by changing its constitution, and by interfering with its discretionary powers to compel it to do or refrain from doing some specific thing. This outcome has been seriously feared at times in the history of the gas commission. But, fortunately, the fears have not been realized. But with the avoidance of this difficulty the whole battle is not won. There still remains at least one great chance for these forces to win. Namely, to ignore the existence of the commission so far as to appeal directly to the legislature for special rights and favors in the gas field, which rights and favors, consistently with the whole theory of commission control, ought to be granted only on the recommendation of the commission and enjoyed under the supervision of that body. It must not for a moment be forgotten that the legislature determines the constitution, powers, and duties of the commission and holds over it at all times the power of life and death. Therefore, the work of the commission cannot at any time exceed in skill and effectiveness the standard appreciable by a majority in the legislature. Furthermore, whatever may be the individual judgment or knowledge of the members of the legislature—if one can apply such terms

as individual judgment and knowledge to men in such position—all disinterested students recognize that legislative action will never, in our circumstances, rise in honesty, stability, or excellence much above the grade of intelligence, skill, and honesty set by the average voter. This brings us to the end of our reasoning. We have reached an ultimate limit. No stream can rise higher than its source. By no sort of machinery can a government resting on a basis of popular suffrage be better than is demanded by the majority of the voters. Nothing could better illustrate this great, this fundamental principle than the history of the relation of the gas supply of Boston to the public. If the gas commission has any worthy function or logical reason for existing, it is that it may act as a non-partisan expert body and more especially that the solid and constantly growing body of expert knowledge acquired by it shall furnish the *only* basis for future legislation. For any commission at the beginning is but an experiment, and in the early years can do no more than point the way. But if our reasoning in this case has been correct, we cannot expect the member of the legislature to want the advice of the commission, or to act upon it, until the constituents of the members are sufficiently educated to appreciate and demand such action. It certainly is clearly true to-day that members of the legislature act neither on their personal convictions nor on advice which, if they were not members of the legislature, they would consider expert, but rather on the basis of what is supposed to represent momentarily the somewhat evanescent and constantly shifting sentiments and desires of a majority of the voters. Unfortunately, this popular sentiment is not only by nature unstable and intangible under modern conditions, but it is far within the power of designing private interests to effect sudden changes in it at will. So long as this remains true, and so long as the framework of our government and our political practices remain substantially what they now are, so long will the managers of great corporations and industrial

enterprises continue to stampede the voters and lawmakers for private advantage.

Had it been impossible thus to manipulate public opinion in the eighties, the new processes, which were truly needed, could have been easily introduced by such administrative machinery as we have to-day. In like manner, the advantages sought by the introduction of the Brookline Company in 1893, and by the creation of the Pipe Line Company in 1896, could have been obtained. This company was chartered and the competition entered upon, against the judgment of the commission.

These are the three disturbing and injurious events in the history of the gas supply of Boston. They are not only results of the same cause, but are also a sufficient explanation of the creation of this voluntary association—the Coke Company. They explain, too, why the gas commission has not proposed any remedy for the evils threatened by the Coke Company. The commission knows all too well that it dare not take any position without giving a reason for it to the public, and that it is useless to give or allege any reason which will not instantly meet with popular support, and that, too, when every private and corporate interest which does not want the public to support that view is making every effort, legitimate and illegitimate, to prevent the public from accepting the view of the commission.

Could the commission be assured for five years of unbroken legislative, that is to say, popular support, it could, either under present laws or under amendments within the power and duty of the commission to suggest, control not only the corporations but also the Coke Company. That is, commission control is weak, because the commission is a sort of tenant at will of the legislature, and the legislature has no stable will or policy.

Let us consider the relation of the commission to the Boston situation to-day. Apart from the unlimited inquisitorial powers of the commission, it has three important functions.

First, it has complete power over the capitalization; second, it lets in or keeps out competing companies upon appeal; and third, upon proper petition it fixes the price of gas.

The policy of the state in favor of regulated monopoly has been so specifically declared by statute and rulings of the commission that it seems improbable that any competing company will in future be introduced by the commission. Until further legislation, the voluntary association in the form of the Coke Company has removed itself practically from the jurisdiction of the commission. The indirect power over the price charged consumers is apparently the only one remaining.

But the same power that removes the capitalization of the Coke Company from the jurisdiction of the commission, in practice destroys the power of the commission over the price of gas. The commission has not yet been able to get at the amount of the investment or the manufacturing accounts of the Coke Company. Until the commission knows what it costs to manufacture gas, how can it determine whether the prices charged by the Coke Company to the Pipe Line Company are reasonable? Could it do so, the only method of reaching the evil would probably be by lowering the selling price to the consumer. Had the commission access to the accounts of the Coke Company, however, it could have but a meagre basis for a sound judgment of the cost of manufacturing gas. For it should be recalled that gas in this case is really a joint, or rather, as already explained, a minor or by-product of the manufacture of coke. Therefore, its separate cost of manufacture cannot be determined by any one. What it costs to make gas depends on what it costs to make coke, and a fair price for gas depends on what the coke brings.

In short, the assumption of the form of a voluntary association instead of a corporation has carried the gas industry in Massachusetts, or at least in Boston and vicinity, practically back to where it stood throughout the whole country

thirty years ago. That is, we have unlimited and unknown capitalization, which in and of itself makes the determination of a fair price impossible. Then we have an experiment going on under the management of a group of men who, having none of their own capital invested, suffer nothing in case of failure, while being owners of the equity in the concern they get all the gains in case of success. But it may be asked, has not the commission power over the price of gas sold to consumers (if not over the price of inter-company sales), and can it not reach the difficulty by simply fixing a price which is fair to the consumers without regard to the manufacturers of, or dealers in, gas? This would seem possible at first sight, but under present conditions it is impossible. In the first place, the price fixed must be a reasonable one or the courts will not uphold it. But it goes without saying that the commissioners cannot strike in the dark, and they cannot get at the data necessary for a sane and certain judgment any more than the council or legislature could do so a generation ago. But if the commission could get at the investment and manufacturing accounts of the Coke Company and should find that the new process cannot be operated at a profit at prevailing prices, what could it do? For the commission from its origin has held that no experiment ought to be tried until its success is probable enough to induce the promoters to risk their own capital in the enterprise. On this principle the commission opposed the investment of the Coke Company on its present basis. Should, therefore, the Coke Company by amendment of the law be placed as fully under the jurisdiction of the commission as the gas corporations are, what would be the duty of the commission in view of the past history of the company in case the experiment bade fair to fail?

But even a greater practical difficulty is, that the evil has already been done, and the \$12,000,000 of Boston United Gas bonds, the unlimited and unknowable amount of the stock of the Bay State Company of Delaware, and other

extra-Massachusetts securities, as well as the \$35,000,000 stock and bonds of the Coke Company have, in large part, long since passed to unknown, and presumably innocent, hands. Is any American state government strong enough to-day to freeze out the holders of any considerable portion of this vast amount of securities—securities which, until the courts rule otherwise, must be assumed to have been legally issued? In my opinion, any such reduction of capitalization to become possible, must have back of it a judicial determination that these securities were not legally issued. Such a decision in this case seems at least improbable. I venture the prediction that, however great the violation of public policy or the moral law in issuing these securities, so long as those who issued them or those who hold them can put forth a truthful claim that the securities were legally issued, no administrative commission can, by its ruling, destroy them without having that ruling tested in the courts and probably annulled. At any rate, the attempt so to destroy the value of such securities would probably destroy the commission. Nor, in my opinion, will the legislature knowingly undertake to destroy these securities under its rights to repeal charters. The support of this excessive capitalization appears, therefore, to be saddled upon the consumers of gas, except in so far as the managers of the companies may by their strife among themselves bankrupt one or another of the companies, or procure a judicial decision that will bring about the same result. For reasons already given, the commission must, to maintain itself in popular favor, be perfectly sure of every step it takes, and be able instantly to justify that step to the public. But if it had perfect access to all the books and records of all the companies so long as the inter-company contracts exists and are entered into and changed at will by men who in each case are making contracts with themselves, one cannot presume that the commission will ever get permission to make expenditure enough to enable it to keep up with the hide-and-seek

game played by those in control of the industry, or to audit the accounts of the different corporations all kept by the same men, often enough or with sufficient care to have any confidence in a judgment based on them or to presume to justify that judgment to the public. It is utterly impossible for any public authority in Massachusetts to say what a fair price for gas in Boston is.

It should also be remarked that, apart from the secrecy, the excessive capitalization, the inter-company contracts, which the same set of men make with themselves, more than 98 per cent of the stocks in all the Massachusetts corporations involved are in possession of one or the other of two New York trust companies as security for a portion of this foreign and excessive domestic capitalization. If one should so far stretch language as to speak of a fair price for gas under these circumstances, one should realize that any fixing or public interference with price might easily wreck the whole legal complexus on which the business now rests. For reasons already given, the commission cannot be sufficiently sure of its facts to justify it in entering upon a course likely to bring about such a collapse. When one cannot even tell who is an innocent holder, one may well be a little slow in trying to strike a deliberate blow at any holder. In short, the object of those who brought about the present complexity was to produce a condition in which a price that is fair for one interest involved should necessarily be unfair to some other interest. Nothing short of legal consolidation can possibly simplify this situation. But the difficulties of determining a fair price turn out to be, viewed from another standpoint, exactly the same difficulties as those presented in distributing equitably the stock in a consolidation among the different parties in interest.

Enough has now been said to show the weakness of the present condition of control of gas companies in the only state which has made any serious attempt to exercise a public control over them. The question naturally arises,

does this account demonstrate the impossibility of control and drive us inevitably, however reluctantly, to the advocacy of public ownership and operation? In my opinion neither of these conclusions is completely justified, while I see no evidence whatever in the facts surveyed to indicate that public ownership is more likely to succeed than public control. In fact, the lesson of the whole story to me is, that the evils are more deep-seated than the form of ownership resting on the ignorance of the mass of voters in regard to both government and industry. That ignorance rests upon an utter lack of appreciation of the complexity of modern industrial conditions and a complete absence of any popular apprehension of expert knowledge, or its value to its owner or the public. One manifestation of this ignorance gives us the 10 per cent dividend limitation in Massachusetts. I have not time to elaborate the effects of this superstition, but wish simply to remark that, as long as that tradition holds, one of two things will result. The laws enacted to enforce this view will either be violated or evaded, as is now done, or all progress in industry must cease. While an annual dividend of 10 per cent is an ample reward in a reasonably safe investment which has passed the experimental stage, a chance of that amount as a maximum is in no sense a sufficient inducement to lead men to risk their own money in an enterprise involving a large amount of fixed capital so long as there is great danger of a total loss of principal as well as dividend by a failure of the experiment. The consumer ought, in the long run, to pay the expense of legitimate industrial experiment. He does not do this when he enforces successfully the 10 per cent dividend limit.

The very thing, therefore, which has caused commission control to yield such meagre fruits in Massachusetts would be sure to make public ownership give still less desirable results. But has commission control been so complete a failure as to cause us to despair of the whole problem? This is too large a question to enter upon here. Suffice it to say

that to despair here is to despair of all self-government as we understand that phrase. I venture the prediction, however, that if the problem is capable of solution, it must be settled along the lines of the work of the Massachusetts Gas Commission. For if my diagnosis of the evils to be eradicated and of the difficulties encountered by the commission is correct, it follows that the difficulty comes ultimately from the dependence of the commission upon the ignorance of the voter. It follows necessarily that the only possible remedy is the political, administrative, and industrial education of the voter and through him of the legislator.

Any one who has followed the history of this commission is drawn irresistibly to the conclusion that, however far short that body may have come of the desired results, it has followed the only logical, or, in fact, rationally possible, method for the attainment of those results. In my opinion, the hope of the future lies in patiently improving and perfecting the educational work of administrative control, with its uniform bookkeeping, accounting, and public inspection. If this fail ultimately, we shall of course try something else; but I for one shall come to believe with Cyrano de Bergerac that "one does not fight because there is hope of winning," and, that, "it is much finer to fight when it is no use."



**REGULATION OF COST AND QUAL-  
ITY OF SERVICE AS ILLUSTRATED  
BY STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES**

**BY DR. FREDERIC W. SPEIRS**

**PHILADELPHIA**



## REGULATION OF COST AND QUALITY OF SERVICE AS ILLUSTRATED BY STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES.

Dr. FREDERIC W. SPEIRS, Philadelphia.

The conditions under which we approach the street railway problem at the present moment are peculiarly favorable for effective discussion. Until recently the indifference and corruption of public officials and the deliberate policy of falsification adopted by many street railway managers have conspired successfully to conceal the most fundamental facts regarding capitalization, cost of operation and profits. But patient and persistent effort has now wrested from imperfect public records and has wrung from reluctant officials enough facts to furnish an adequate basis for sound induction. We now have detailed studies of the street railway systems of several of our great cities, and a growing collection of valuable official investigations crowned by the comprehensive report of the Massachusetts special committee on street railways, published in 1898. We have therefore passed the period of sweeping generalizations from imperfect data and of misleading comparisons between American and European conditions founded on imperfect knowledge of both.

These investigations of the relations of the public to street railway corporations in most cases reveal a tragedy of errors. We are now paying the penalty of ignorance and recklessness in the bestowal of franchises. The penalty takes the form of excessive profits in our larger cities, of systematic corruption of our legislative bodies for the purpose of protecting these illegitimate profits, and of general overcapitalization which demoralizes the stock market and justifies the statement that current investments in railway

securities must be classed as extra hazardous. While in some cases the consequences of our unwise policy are limited to this generation, in others injustice to the public can be remedied only through infliction of heavy loss upon those who have made investments in good faith.

There is much confusion in the public mind regarding the financial results of street railway operations in the United States. It is the general belief that such enterprises, with present rates of fare and with light franchise burdens, are extraordinarily profitable. This is a correct impression with reference to the large city systems. It is incorrect so far as it relates to the railways in small communities and in suburban districts. The most reliable figures of street railway profits are those of Massachusetts. The report for 1899 shows that during the previous year forty-nine Massachusetts companies paid dividends ranging from  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent to 8 per cent, while fifty-four companies paid no dividend. The forty-nine companies that showed profit were capitalized at \$33,649,950, while the fifty-four that made no profit represented only \$5,283,966. The average rate of dividend for all the companies was 5.8 per cent. And it should be remembered that the capitalization on which these dividends are declared is not excessive, so the rate indicates real return on investment. These results illustrate the general statement that street railway investments as a whole do not yield abnormal profit.

If we turn from these figures to those of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other large cities we find the justification of the general impression regarding street railway profit. The explanation of the moderate return of the small systems and the exorbitant profits in certain large cities is the general application of a customary rate of fare, five cents. This rate applied in many cases from the very early days is practically universal, regardless of the real cost of service. The rigid adherence to custom in this particular embarrasses the small systems where operating expenses are relatively large,

and enriches the large city companies that have the benefit of concentrated traffic with a considerable proportion of short distance riders. It is only in the great cities, then, that we may reasonably expect material reduction of fare or large increase of contributions to the public treasury. But in these communities there is wide margin for readjustment on one or both of these lines.

The possibilities of controlling rates and character of service in such a way as to realize the fullest benefit for the public are conditioned largely upon the form of franchise. We have to deal with three general forms in the United States—the unlimited, the indeterminate and the term.

The unlimited franchise was quite generally granted in the earlier years of street railway development and is still permitted in half of our states. The peculiar features of this form are admirably illustrated by the Philadelphia system, although strictly speaking Philadelphia franchises are not unlimited, for they are subject to the reserved right of municipal purchase. But this provision has been entirely ignored by public and railway managers during more than forty years of development, and the system has been built upon the assumption of perpetual right to occupy the streets on terms fixed more than a generation ago.

The glaring evil of this form of franchise is the difficulty of readjusting the compensation for monopoly privileges as the community grows and the conditions change. In addition to this manifest weakness, there is the peculiar temptation to overcapitalization in communities where present profits are large and future possibilities of profit are still greater. Overcapitalization is an evil not confined to companies holding perpetual franchise, but it is most serious under that form. The Philadelphia system exhibits the worst possibilities of the unlimited grant in this direction. The profits of many of the lines have been excessive from the very beginning. As early as 1864 one line was earning 45 per cent dividend on actual investment,

another 28 per cent, two more about 20 per cent, and the entire system was averaging nearly 10 per cent on paid-in capital. In the early eighties these large profits attracted the attention of a coterie of bold financiers who have since become famous in the street railway world as the "Philadelphia syndicate." They quietly bought large blocks of stock and then formed an operating company in 1883 to lease the original lines at very high rentals. Ten years later all the original companies except one had been leased by three traction companies, and in 1895 these three operating companies were absorbed by the present Union Traction Company. The monopoly is now perfect.

The abnormal profit is indicated by the lease charges paid by the Union Traction Company. One important line receives a guaranteed annual dividend of 72 per cent on paid-in capital, another 71.6 per cent, a third 42.8 per cent and eight other lines a dividend ranging from 40 to 20 per cent on actual investment.

During the various consolidation processes the capitalization has been inflated in the familiar way until the total net capitalization of the system is now above \$108,000,000, which is more than three times its cost of construction and equipment as reported by the companies. The investigation made three years ago showed that the market value of the stocks of the company then exceeded \$120,000,000 while the company's figures of the total cost of the system were only \$36,000,000. Thus accepting the exaggerated cost figures of the company, Philadelphians are expected to pay for their street car service the market rate of interest on more than three and one-half times the capital actually invested.

Excessive inflation on the plan indicated by the Philadelphia system is invariable in large cities wherever the unlimited franchise prevails. Comparative figures of capitalization per mile of track indicate the extent of this evil in the two greatest cities which have unlimited franchises.

As a standard of fair capitalization of a system in a large city we may take the figures of the West End Company of Boston. This company reports a capitalization of \$103,655 per mile, and the Massachusetts railroad commission declares, after special investigation, that 92 per cent of that amount represents actual value of plant. It is possible that this figure is excessive, but assuming it as a conservative estimate, we have about \$95,360 as a reasonable capitalization per mile for a thoroughly equipped road with heavy city traffic. In comparison with this, Mr. Edward E. Higgins, editor of the *Street Railway Journal*, estimates the average capitalization per mile of the surface railways of the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx at \$348,387; of greater New York at \$201,381; and of Philadelphia at \$265,510.

Such overcapitalization as is here indicated as a special characteristic of the unlimited franchise makes the readjustment of fares and franchise charges on an equitable basis difficult for the public and most painful for the investors. Many of the present holders of securities have reaped no benefit from the inflation process. Those who received the exorbitant returns through inflation of stock values have either sold their securities or are prepared to do so at the first symptom of forced contraction. The extent of the loss to recent investors in many of our great cities, if the public ever demands service at cost, is indicated by the facts for Philadelphia. With gross earnings of \$11,793,858 the Union Traction Company last year paid \$5,634,726 as guaranteed dividends on the stock of constituent companies and interest charges on bonds. Five per cent interest on the real investment which these stocks and bonds represent, at the most liberal estimate, would be less than \$1,800,000, so a contraction of these inflated values would mean a reduction of more than \$3,800,000 in annual interest payment to the stockholders of Philadelphia railways. But until that great sacrifice is exacted either by reducing fares or by increasing taxation, the public will not secure transportation

on the terms which an efficient system of public ownership and operation would give. This is the most serious phase of the street railway problem under the unlimited franchise.

The second form of franchise with which we have to deal is that represented by the peculiar Massachusetts system of indeterminate franchise which may be revoked at the pleasure of the local authorities with the approval of the state railroad commission. This plan gives the public power to readjust franchise compensation at any time in the simplest fashion. The careful supervision of the Massachusetts railroad commission has prevented gross overcapitalization in that state, and the railways are therefore in a position to grant without disturbance to their financial organization any reasonable demands which the public may make.

While this plan of indeterminate franchise seems ideal from the standpoint of the public, it appears extraordinary that the investor is willing to undertake street railway operations with no definite tenure of location. The Massachusetts special committee on the relation between cities and towns and street railway corporations, appointed in 1897, was instructed to consider the advisability of modifying this form of franchise, but it reports that investigation showed that neither the municipalities nor the companies desired to change the system. The report declares that "It was evident that, while the municipalities wanted to retain as a weapon—a sort of discussion bludgeon—the right of revocation at will, the companies preferred, on the whole, a franchise practically permanent, though never absolutely certain, to a fixed contract tenure for a shorter term, subject to the danger of alteration at every periodic renewal."

It seems unlikely, however, that other communities will seriously consider the plan which has apparently worked well under special conditions in the progressively conservative state of Massachusetts. The District of Columbia is the only other locality where this form prevails.

The third form of franchise is the term contract, which has

been used in a few of our states from the earliest days of street railway development, and has been most fully developed in Europe. In most cases in this country the franchise term is between twenty and thirty years, but Wyoming has fixed ten years as the maximum period. The tendency at present seems to be toward a twenty year term.

The short term franchise is now generally accepted as the best system of regulating the relations of municipalities and street railway corporations. Under this plan the operating company has certainty of tenure and the municipality has relatively frequent opportunity to readjust the conditions of franchise to meet changing needs of the city. The ownership of the tracks by the municipality, which is usual in Europe, simplifies the lease terms and will probably be adopted as a general policy here very soon as a concession to the growing sentiment in favor of municipal ownership and management.

The question of the price of franchise privileges presents grave difficulties in the adjustment of the details in each special locality, but the broad principles upon which the contract should be framed are well defined by experience. The practice in the United States has been most confused and irregular. It is usual for the local authorities to prescribe one or more of the following charges as compensation for the grant of location: a tax on gross earnings, a dividend tax, car licenses, street paving and lighting. In addition, the real and personal property of the railway companies are usually taxed at the regular rates. And finally the state frequently subjects the street railways in common with other corporations to a tax on capital, dividends or on gross receipts.

Under an ideal system the local charge for franchise, which is the special price of the monopoly privilege, is adjusted in such a way that it will absorb all the net profit from the operation of the railways above a fair return to the capital invested. In the cities where street railway

enterprises at the customary fare of five cents are exceedingly profitable, the public may choose between two methods of arranging conditions. They may dispose of the franchise to the corporation that offers the lowest fare, and thus realize little in the form of contributions to the city treasury. Or they may stipulate the customary fare of five cents and provide for large public income from the railways. This latter form manifestly levies a special tax on users of street cars which is collected by the corporations.

The payment for franchise privileges has been exacted in this country under various forms. In the early days it was usual to require the companies to pave and repair the streets which were occupied by their tracks. This form of franchise payment has assumed greatest importance in Philadelphia, where it is the largest element of the local income from street railway franchises. The duty of paving was imposed by the original franchise grants, but it was generally neglected until 1892, when trolley privileges were secured. Then as the specific price of these favors, the city was transformed in a few years from one of the worst to one of the best paved cities in the United States, at an expense to the companies variously estimated at from \$9,000,000 to \$14,000,000. But even in view of this achievement an examination of the unfortunate experience of Philadelphia before the trolley period confirms the experience of other cities that this form of franchise payment is burdensome and vexatious. The city should never entrust the care of its highways to a street railway corporation, which has no business interest in their proper maintenance.

A still more unwise, but very common franchise exaction, has been the tax on cars. When this was first imposed, its constitutionality was questioned, and a Pennsylvania judge affirmed its validity on the ground that it was a proper police measure to prevent the obstruction of the public highway by an excessive number of cars. It is still very effective from the point of view of the learned judge.

A third form of charge is the tax on dividends. This has been incorporated in a large number of contracts, but although it is most alluring in theory this tax has been found very difficult to collect. With the imperfect supervision to which railway corporations have been subjected, the manipulation of dividends has been too easy to make the dividend tax desirable.

The fourth form of franchise charge is the one approved by sound theory—the tax on gross receipts. The fairness of a tax on receipts is generally recognized. Moreover, gross receipts are more easily ascertained than any other financial fact, and the assessment is therefore simple. With our present lack of adequate supervision of street railway accounts, this tax is therefore peculiarly desirable.

Our experience, then, would seem to indicate that the ideal system of adjusting the relations of the municipality and street railway corporations, if we are to retain private management, is public ownership of tracks with private operation under a term contract for a period not exceeding twenty years. The contract should stipulate the lowest possible fare which promises a reasonable return on investment and should provide for a progressive tax on gross receipts.

The oft-cited contract which Toronto made in 1891 is a capital illustration of this form of franchise. The twenty years' lease under which the Toronto railways are operated by a corporation, provides first for an annual payment of \$800 per mile of track, which is specific rental for the track which is owned by the city. In addition, the company pays a percentage of gross receipts rising by degrees from 8 per cent on receipts of less than \$1,000,000 to 20 per cent on receipts of over \$3,000,000. Ordinary fares are six tickets for twenty-five cents. For early morning and late afternoon hours eight tickets for twenty-five cents are sold, and the fare of school children at specified hours is only two and one-half cents.

If the suggested system of special payment to the city for franchise privileges be adopted and the terms arranged so

that the railway corporation shall pay the full value of its monopoly right, the general taxation will be very simple. The railway corporation virtually stripped of special privilege will stand in precisely the same position as any other industrial enterprise. It should pay local taxes on real estate and on personal property, if other holders are thus assessed. If the state derives a revenue from corporation taxes, the street railway corporation should bear its share on precisely the same basis as any other industrial undertaking. The much discussed Ford bill of New York which adds the value of franchises to the value of real estate for purposes of taxation, is an admirable measure as applied to street railways under present conditions, since the railways have not paid an adequate price under local contract for their monopoly rights. But under a term contract framed on the lines of the Toronto or of European agreements the payment for franchise right is exacted more easily and more perfectly than it can possibly be obtained through the principle of the Ford bill or of the earlier Massachusetts tax law of similar purport.

The ominous discontent of the public with existing franchise terms and the rapid growth of the desire for public ownership and operation are moving managers of unduly profitable systems to consider concessions. The *Street Railway Journal*, the leading technical publication in that field, recently urged upon its constituency a proposition that coming from such a source would have been startling a few years ago. The editor proposed that the gross receipts of a street railway company be distributed as follows: First deduct from the receipts the operating expenses, state and local taxes on real estate and personal property, amortization fund, reserve fund, employes' benefit fund, and finally 4 per cent interest on capital. Then make an equal division of the remainder of the gross receipts between the municipality and invested capital. Such a plan applied to our large railway systems would yield a very considerable public revenue.

None of our great cities realize an adequate price for franchise privileges. Philadelphia is among the most fortunate. The city and state absorb about 12 per cent of the gross receipts of the Union Traction Company. The possibilities for greater public revenue have already been indicated by the facts with reference to excessive dividend rates. Baltimore is another favored city. The public treasury will receive this year about 10 per cent of gross receipts. The other great cities are far behind those cited. The Metropolitan system of New York, for instance, with its immense earning power, pays only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of gross receipts to the city and state. The railways of Massachusetts pay about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of gross earnings in the form of taxes.

No phase of American street railway history is so humiliating as the almost unbroken record of failure on the part of the public to exercise reasonable powers of control over the corporations. The difficulties have been of two kinds--legal and administrative. In many cases defective laws have conferred powers of control in such vague terms that any attempt to interfere with the management has led to protracted litigation. In other cases where the right of public control is clearly expressed, the corporations have found it cheaper to corrupt legislatures and administrative officials than to accept reasonable regulation of service under the law. The right of public control in the absence of specific contract provisions is ill defined at the present moment. The general police power has been invoked to regulate the number of cars, the hours of labor of employes, and in at least one case to reduce fare. We greatly need clear legal definition of the extent of the power of control beyond the special provisions of the charters and ordinances.

Manifestly a prime essential of effective public control is publicity of accounts. Until recently the corporations have generally refused statements of real financial conditions.

The few statements extorted from them by public officials have been so confused in form or so meagre in detail that they were quite valueless. In Pennsylvania, for instance, traction companies corrupted the state officials when the consolidation process began, and substituted for the complete sworn returns of the earlier days a balance sheet which meant nothing. The sworn report to the auditor general of Pennsylvania as a basis of taxation is still held by that officer as confidential. This policy of secrecy is happily near its end, for the toleration of the public has been strained to the breaking point. Moreover the managers of the corporations now realize that the prevalent belief that all street railway enterprises are enormously profitable is fostered to a dangerous degree by secrecy, and the instinct of self-preservation is inducing them to proffer information and to court investigation wherever their management can bear the light. The carefully drawn statements prescribed by the Massachusetts commission, returned under oath and subject to the check of access to the books by the commissioners, are models of the kind of official reports needed for intelligent control of the conditions of service.

A state commission seems to be the best device for control, in spite of certain obvious defects, and the Massachusetts commission is a good type. One of the chief functions of such a board is to control capitalization. The excellent system of Massachusetts shows the possibilities of effective work along this line. A railway company wishing to increase its stock or bond issue must prove to the satisfaction of the railroad commissioners that the increase of capitalization will find expression in a real addition to the value of the property of the company. Furthermore the commission is charged with the duty of forcing a reduction of capitalization as the value of the plant decreases. The success of Massachusetts in holding the capitalized value close to the real value of railway property suggests the adoption of a similar plan in all of our states.

The regulation of fare, the number of cars, the maximum length of the working day for employes, the provision of safety devices and the control of other similar conditions of service should be vested in the local councils, with a conservative provision for appeal to the state commission. With insistence upon publicity of accounts and with clear and reasonable provisions for control on the principles already established in Massachusetts, the larger part of our street railway difficulties will disappear. If these measures are not generally adopted with reasonable promptness, the reaction against corporate abuses will speedily carry us over to municipal ownership and operation. There are plain indications that the public are likely to fly to ills they know not of rather than bear those they have.

After this review of our street railway situation, in which much has necessarily been said of shortcomings and failures, we should not fail to note the gleam of consolation in our experience. As we examine the contracts of European cities with their street railway corporations, and note how thoroughly the financial interest of the municipality is safeguarded and how complete are the provisions for public control, we are likely to draw comparisons which are very unfavorable to the best of our American franchises. But when we contrast the imperfectly developed systems of the foreign cities with our own magnificent reaches of lines and our excellent equipment, we must revise our judgment and concede something to the credit side of our account. As a somewhat extreme instance of a general condition, contrast Glasgow, a city of 800,000 inhabitants with seventy-three miles of tramway, with Boston, a city of 500,000 inhabitants and two hundred and twenty miles of track. The more complete systems and the superior equipment of our American railways cannot be ascribed wholly to differences in franchise terms, but there can be no doubt that American liberality, even recklessness, toward street railway corporations has encouraged them to push out their lines and perfect

their equipment. The rapid extension of track encouraged by our prodigality of franchise, in connection with our system of uniform fare, regardless of distance, has undoubtedly helped to save our cities from the worst evils of excessive crowding, which is such a serious problem abroad. It is conceivable that viewed in the perspective of a half century it will appear to our successors that the heavy price we have paid in past profits, in present overcapitalization and in political corruption has not been too great for the benefits of a well-developed system of local transportation, with its relatively wide distribution of city population. It is at least clear that if we now revise our franchise conditions in the light of the knowledge gained by costly experience we shall presently enjoy the best street railway service in the world at reasonable rates.

II.

THE INFLUENCE OF CORPORATIONS ON POLITICAL LIFE ∴ ∴

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ANNUAL ADDRESS.

BY HON. WILLIAM LINDSAY,  
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY



## THE INFLUENCE OF CORPORATIONS ON POLITICAL LIFE.

Annual Address by Hon. WILLIAM LINDSAY, United States Senator  
from Kentucky.

There was a time within the memory of the living, when the serious consideration of the subject assigned me for discussion this evening, would probably have excited, with practical men, emotions of surprise. In the earlier—I was about to say, the better days of the republic—few, if any, supposed that it would ever be possible for corporate influences to affect political life, and no one contemplated that before the end of the nineteenth century an “artificial being, invisible, intangible, and existing only in the estimation of law,” with no properties, capacities or powers other than those conferred for special business purposes by the sovereign authority, would come to be regarded, and rightfully regarded, as a potent factor in political life. Yet to-day it is a fact, and a momentous fact, that combinations of capital, organized as corporations, and primarily devoted to business purposes, have acquired the control of production, wages and prices, to such an extent that many of our most intelligent and far-seeing citizens are demanding at the hands of state legislatures and of the federal congress, legislation looking to the restraint of such combinations to the strictly legitimate exercise of their delegated powers. These citizens complain, too, that corporations, not content with the extraordinary and dangerous control they exercise in affairs of business, have become customary participants in political contests, and insist that the results of elections, especially municipal elections, are often brought about by the active intervention of corporate managers, and the illegitimate use of moneys supplied from corporate funds.

These complaints may not be altogether just, but that corporations do participate in local and municipal elections and do contribute to the campaign funds of the great parties that periodically contest for the control of the state and federal governments, there are the best of reasons for believing. In municipal contests those contributions are not always intended for the promotion of party ends or purposes. In an investigation made by a committee of the United States Senate three or four years since, it was developed by one of the principal officers of a corporation then virtually controlling the production and fixing the price of an article of general consumption, that the contributions of his corporation depended, not on political principles or political convictions, but on corporate considerations. In Democratic cities the Democratic party received the benefit of the contributions devoted to *legitimate campaign purposes*, while in Republican cities the rule was reversed, and the managers of the Republican party were permitted to expend the corporate funds set apart for *the promotion of honest government*.

The general intervention of corporations in political affairs is of comparatively modern origin. In the five volumes of McMaster's "History of the American People," now in the hands of the reading public, in which the mingling of social and political history involved a discussion of American politics as thorough and exhaustive as it is entertaining and instructive, no reference is made to corporate influences on political life.

During the first administration of President Jackson the controversy between those who were friendly and those who were adverse to granting a new charter to the Bank of the United States began. It became a party question and was one of the leading issues in the campaign resulting in that President's re-election.

Among the causes assigned by him for the subsequent removal of the national deposits was the charge that the bank was faithless as a public agent "in the misapplication

of public funds, its interference in elections . . . and above all, its flagrant misconduct . . . in placing all the funds of the bank, including the moneys of the government, at the disposition of the president of the bank as a means of operating upon public opinion and procuring a new charter." In one of his later messages he denounced it as a permanent electioneering scheme.

We have nothing to do this evening with the merits of that controversy. It is important only in the fact that it indicates, with reasonable accuracy, the date at which corporate influences on political life began to attract public attention and to provoke official condemnation. That such influence has continued (in a greater or lesser degree) to make itself felt in current politics, is an undisputed fact with every one acquainted with the political history of the past three-quarters of a century.

It has assumed very grave importance in recent years. The facility with which charters may be obtained and valuable franchises secured has encouraged the formation of corporations for the transaction of every character of business, and we have reached the point at which the individual feels he can no longer compete with his incorporated rival, and where members of old-time partnerships are no longer willing to pledge their personal credit in competition with members of incorporated companies, whose liabilities being limited, do not hesitate to assume risks in business adventures from which prudent business men, unprotected by corporate exemptions, unhesitatingly shrink.

The inequality in the advantages enjoyed by corporations and individuals has aroused feelings of impatience and discontent, and those feelings have culminated in the demand for corporate regulations, which, in some instances, are as unreasonable as they are needlessly comprehensive. Those interested in corporate property and corporate business, of course, resist such demands, and out of the demands on one side, and resistance on the other, the great question of trusts,

and what is to be done with and about trusts, has developed into an issue of transcendent national importance. The difficulty of deciding as to the character of restraints that may be safely and prudently imposed, is rendered all the greater by the difficulty of determining the extent of congressional authority, and of locating the boundary line that separates the inherent jurisdiction of the states, from the delegated authority of the general government.

It is to be regretted that the consideration of this far-reaching question is approached with passion and prejudice by many of those who complain of existing conditions, and with cold-blooded and almost brutal indifference by many of those who enjoy the advantages and reap the benefits of corporate organization. How far combinations of capital diminish the cost of production and transportation; to what extent, and in what direction, they affect the wages or diminish or increase the demands for labor; whether their benefits to the farmer and planter are equal to the injuries they inflict, are economic questions that ought to be honestly, dispassionately and patiently investigated. They cannot be intelligently discussed, or fairly or justly solved, until their true relations shall be understood. Radical reforms, attempted to be introduced while ignorance and passion are in the ascendency, will breed other mischiefs and probably relieve none of the evils of the situation.

As we advance in civilization new and difficult social problems arise. As we improve material conveniences, and change the methods of production and transportation, new and difficult economic problems present themselves. Steam and electricity have converted the old into a new world. In what manner, and to what extent, the methods and customs, the business theories and practices, of the olden times are to be modified or changed to meet the exigencies of the present, we are not yet ready to determine, but faith in the sense of justice and fair play, and confidence in the judgment of the conservative majority, which in the end always

asserts itself, encourage the hope and inspire the belief that we shall not fail ultimately to reach wise conclusions, and to shape and keep the new conditions in harmony with the principles of patriotism, justice and common sense.

Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution each generation has had to meet and deal with issues which, in the opinion of the faint-hearted, threatened not only the perpetuity of the Federal Union, but the continuance of free institutions. The alien and sedition laws of the elder Adams led to the adoption of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798-99, and opened the eyes of the American people to the fact that the opinion was then entertained by some of the greatest statesmen that the union of the states was in the nature of a compact, and that the violation of any of the terms of that compact by the general government absolved each state from its obligations, and that each state was the final judge of the supposed infraction and possessed the right to determine whether it should withdraw from or continue a member of a union which the framers of the constitution had fondly hoped was to prove perpetual.

It was claimed by those who opposed the acquisition of Louisiana that the erection of new states out of that territory, and their admission into the Union without the express consent of every state, would be in contravention of the federal compact, would reduce the relative importance and impair the dignity of the original states, and be equivalent in law and in morals to the dissolution of the Union.

The enactment of the protective tariff laws of 1828 was denounced as a gross violation of the Constitution and was followed by the nullifying statutes of South Carolina, which would have led to civil war but for the firmness of President Jackson, and the adoption by Congress of compromise statutes gradually relieving the hardships against which the agricultural states most bitterly complained.

The acquisition of the territories ceded by Mexico in 1848 led to questions touching the institution of slavery that for

a time seemed beyond the possibility of peaceful settlement. That discussion accustomed the minds of the people to the contemplation of the irrepressible conflict that culminated in the civil war, and was only settled at last by the destruction of an institution for the existence of which the people of all the states were alike responsible, but the evils of which fell with peculiar weight on those states where the profitable character of African slavery prevented its eradication during the earlier years of the republic.

The Union has not only survived all these disturbing issues, but rests on a firmer basis to-day than ever before. No one now asks what we shall do with the territorial issues of the past, but how we shall meet and dispose of the questions arising out of the duty we have assumed of deciding the destiny of the people who came to us with the territories acquired by the treaty restoring peace between the kingdom of Spain and the Government of the United States.

Are the people of the United States to be henceforth divided into citizens and subjects? Does the Constitution follow the flag, or are its beneficent provisions confined in their operation to the American States, between whom it constitutes the bond of union, until the representatives of those states shall extend its provisions to the stranger, brought under our jurisdiction by the fate of war or by treaty, leaving those representatives free to decide as American interests, American honor and American magnanimity may require?

These are the questions that are now being asked on every hand. The recent legislation concerning the Island of Porto Rico has given them exceptional prominence. The interest aroused by that legislation in every section of the country and with the people of every class, condition, vocation and pursuit, encourages the hope, as it gives reason for the belief, that the ultimate settlement of these absorbing issues will not be inconsistent with our theory of government or in conflict with the practical application of the great principle

that the just powers of government rest on the intelligent consent of the governed.

The danger to the perpetuity of free institutions, if such danger there be, does not grow out of expansion, and is not the more alarming because of the difficulties to be overcome in the administration of the affairs of our new possessions. If imperialism is to supersede the principles of free government, if empire is to take the place of the republic, the revolution, when it comes, will be traceable to internal and not to external causes.

It will not be provoked by our relations with the outside world, but will result from our failure to preserve at home, unsullied and uncontaminated, that highest and most sacred attribute of American citizenship, without which all talk of the consent of the governed is but a mockery.

When the civil war was raging with almost unabated fury, Mr. Lincoln, in his Gettysburg address, expressed the opinion, that the contest of arms was to decide, whether the government of the people, for the people and by the people, should perish from the earth. The triumph of the federal armies did not solve that problem; the reconstruction of the South did not solve it, and the extension of the suffrage to all the people of the United States without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude, not only did not solve, but left it yet more difficult of solution. Manhood suffrage remains to-day an experiment, with the serious phase, that it is an experiment which can not be permitted to fail, if free institutions are to be preserved. Those who look on the manner in which the experiment is being worked out, with complacency and confidence, are unaware of the fact that we are over a slumbering volcano, from which some day an eruption may rain on our devoted heads the ashes of political destruction, as the ashes of death were rained from Vesuvius on the people of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Under our system of government we gather the consent of the governed from the ballot box. There is, therefore, no

question of greater moment than whether the ballot box does in fact reflect the genuine and unpurchased consent of the governed, and does represent their real will touching the administration of public affairs, by those who from time to time appear to be chosen to places of responsibility, trust and power.

The people of the revolutionary times, whose representatives joined in the declaration that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," did not contemplate the literal application of that principle, and permitted it to enter into practical government under restraints, which at the present time would be regarded not only as intolerable, but as utterly inconsistent with the theory of man's capacity for self-government.

Each of the thirteen original states began by attaching property qualifications to the right of suffrage. Some of them were more liberal than others, but all denied to those who possessed nothing in the way of taxable estate, the right to participate in the affairs of government, at the polls or elsewhere. If manhood suffrage be an indispensable prerequisite to the republicanism, or to the democracy of modern times, our forefathers carried on the governments they instituted through an aristocracy of property, giving no concern to the intelligence or the education or the personal worth of the individual, who was the unfortunate possessor of no estate.

Vermont and Kentucky, the first two additions to the Union after the adoption of the Constitution, set literal examples of governments of the people by the people. More than sixty years elapsed, however, before the last of the original thirteen gave in its adhesion to manhood suffrage, and up to the beginning of the civil war many of the states of the Union denied to men of African descent the right to vote, however wealthy or worthy they may have been.

As late as the end of the first quarter of this century it

was contended by enlightened statesmen, that universal suffrage endangered property and put it in the power of the worthless and impecunious to control wealth and intelligence, and was not to be contemplated except with abhorrence and fear. They called attention to its career in Europe and insisted that it was folly to expect exemption in America from the conditions that at first inflamed, and then destroyed other nations; and they warned those in power that, if they closed their eyes to the evils invariably following manhood suffrage in the countries in which it had prevailed, the delusions of that day would be lamented by posterity in sack cloth and ashes. Those warnings did not prevail, and state after state removed the disqualification of poverty, until color became the only exception to the completeness of universal suffrage, and that exception was removed by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. It will profit us nothing to discuss the efficacy of the reforms that have taken from property its power to control in matters of government. Political rights once conferred can seldom, if ever, be recalled, and are never voluntarily relinquished. It may be possible in a few states, under exceptional conditions, to re-establish property or educational qualifications, but it is far more likely in the future, that suffrage will be extended rather than circumscribed.

We are now face to face with the question, whether suffrage is or is not a failure, and we are to work out that problem in the light of past experience with fear and trembling. Discussing this absorbing question in his querulous, but philosophic way, Thomas Carlyle, fifty years ago, used this language:

"America, too, will have to strain its energies . . . to crack its sinews, and all but break its heart, as the rest of us have had to do, in thousandfold wrestle with the Pythons and mud-demons, before it can become a habitation for the gods. America's battle is yet to fight; and we, sorrowful, though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it.

New Spiritual Pythons, plenty of them; enormous Megatherions, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight future on America; and she will have her own agony, and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of."

Since those words were written some portion of America's agony has been suffered and some of her battles have been fought. But the great question of the efficacy of the ballot-box has not yet been settled, and the increase of population, and extension of the suffrage, have added difficulties to that most complex of all our social or political problems, and left the future to determine, whether manhood suffrage is to lead first to anarchy, and then to despotism, or, on the contrary, to demonstrate the falsity of the numberless predictions, that time will prove the incapacity of man for self-government.

This same Carlyle was one of the prophets of evil concerning the American theory of self-government. He had little faith in the ballot-box, and less in the possibility of the ballot being intelligently, patriotically, and honestly used. His belief was, that "it is the everlasting privilege of the foolish to be governed by the wise; to be guided in the right path by those who know it better than they. This (said he) is the first 'right of man'; compared with which all other rights are as nothing—mere superfluities, corollaries which will follow of their own accord out of this; if they be not contradictions to this, and less than nothing! To the wise it is not a privilege; far other use indeed. Doubtless, as bringing preservation to their country, it implies preservation to themselves withal; but intrinsically it is the hardest duty a wise man, if he be indeed wise, has laid to his hand. A duty which he would fain enough shirk; which accordingly, in these sad times of doubt and cowardly sloth, he has long everywhere been endeavoring to reduce to its minimum, and has in fact in most cases nearly escaped altogether."

If, as the philosopher says, it is the everlasting privilege of the foolish to be guided in the right path by those who know it better than they, and the everlasting duty of the wise to assist the foolish to walk in the right path, we have but to secure the honest exercise of the high privilege by the one, and the faithful discharge of the responsible duty by the other class, to render universal suffrage an element of hope and strength, rather than an element of danger or destruction.

Manhood suffrage must unquestionably fail, if the foolish shall persistently refuse to follow the counsels of the wise, and will become a curse instead of a blessing if the wise shall persist in shirking the performance of the responsible duty with which they are charged. It has never been supposed that the mass of mankind—that great body of the people, whose necessities forbid them the leisure to acquire more than a passing acquaintance with current events—can, unaided by men of superior opportunities, satisfactorily discharge their duties as electors, but it is hoped and believed that, by keeping in touch, all in whom the powers of government are reposed, the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the cultured, those lacking and those endowed with wisdom, the body of the electors may prove competent to perform the share assigned them in the administration of government, and to perform it with less of selfishness and with greater regard for the equal protection of the lives, liberty and property of all, than can be hoped for at the hands of an aristocracy of property, however patriotic, intelligent or cultured it may be.

Yes, if these elements could be kept in touch, if the foolish could be induced to respect the rights, to consider the opinions, and to respond to the better influences of those wise enough and patriotic enough to lead, manhood suffrage would not fail of success. But with obstinacy, selfishness and venality successfully combining to keep the different elements of society apart, universal suffrage must of necessity result in

ignominious and discreditable failure, and after such failure law and order must be enforced and the rights of property protected by force, or by fraud, or by the combination of both force and fraud, and free institutions thus rendered a thing of the dead past.

We all recognize as a fundamental principle the truth of the declaration so often made, that in a free government majorities, within certain prescribed limitations, must rule. But if apparent majorities can be, and shall be systematically secured by fraud or force or corruption, then majorities not only will not rule, but, on the contrary, will submit themselves to the customary rule of the minority.

It was said by the elder Adams in his inaugural address that "If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that (vote) can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party for its own ends (but) not of the nation's for the national good." If a party organization can and customarily does procure majorities through artifice or corruption, and thus continues itself in power, it converts the government into a government of party, it overthrows the government of the people, and, for the time being, establishes an imperialism in the room and stead of a free republic.

Ignorance, selfishness, indifference, venality, passion, prejudice, and party spirit, were all considered and discounted when universal suffrage was conceded; but the inducements to corruption, and the gigantic proportions of the funds it is now possible to raise for election purposes, were then so far underestimated, that in the light of recent events it may be said, they were not considered at all.

Through their contributions to those funds, corporations may, and in some instances do, influence political life to a degree that can not be measured, and that too in the most demoralizing, degrading and dangerous direction.

In this connection, it is but fair to say, that corporations

as a rule do not voluntarily or willingly contribute to campaign funds. Subject, as they are, to legislative and municipal regulation, they can not well resist the "stand and deliver" argument, that certain classes of party managers do not hesitate to use. Many of them find it cheaper to purchase their peace than to defend their rights. Others are compelled to ally themselves with one political party or the other, to secure protection against destructive legislation proposed by politicians, who seek places by urging an indiscriminate war against all kinds of corporate institutions, and by appealing to the passions and prejudices of unthinking electors, who either are not willing, or are not able to distinguish between pernicious combinations, and legitimate enterprise. In defending themselves against these unprovoked and injurious assaults, corporations not unnaturally claim the right to make use of all the customary means of resistance, and insist that they can not be censured for aligning themselves with political organizations equipped to contend with their assailants and ready to protect their allies.

The well grounded criticism of corporations for the abuse of their privileges in their unwarranted interference in public affairs; the prevailing prejudice against and hostility to combinations that have, or are supposed to have, monopolistic tendencies; the proneness of the thriftless and unfortunate to look on success as criminal and to regard wealth as the increment of fraud, extortion or crime, combine to supply a rich field for the labors of the place-hunting demagogue. As the professed friend of the people, he is always ready, in eloquent and soul-stirring language, to proclaim that he speaks for them and not for himself, and that he sacrifices business employments that would yield him a generous competence, in order that he may sound in their ears the note of warning against the soulless combinations created by law to eat up their substance and to fatten on the proceeds of their toil.

Of this class of politicians an eminent citizen of Philadelphia, long since dead, was moved to say: "Their knowledge of themselves inspires a low estimate of others. They distrust the judgment and intelligence of the community on whose passions alone they rely for advancement and their only study is to watch the shifting currents of popular prejudice and be ready at a moment's notice to follow it." They believe "that public life is a game in which success depends on dexterity, and that all government is a mere struggle for place. . . . Our sovereignty, our virtues, our talents are the daily theme of eulogy. They assure us that we are the best and wisest of the human race, and that their highest glory is to be the instrument of our pleasures, and that they will never act, nor think, nor speak but as we direct them."

Give to such a place-hunter a responsive audience, with the soulless corporation, the hungry cormorant, the bloated monopolist, for his theme, and he will "Pour the full tide of eloquence along," till conservatism, fair dealing and common sense hide their heads in shame and, like convicted criminals, seek safety in ignominious flight. To men like these, and to their methods, possibly as much as to any other cause, is to be traced the efforts of corporations to influence public opinion. Compelled to defend just and indisputable rights, not occasionally and at periodic intervals, but at all times and under all circumstances, in sheer desperation, legitimate enterprise identifies itself, and keeps itself identified, with the managers and directors of current politics.

Forced into indefensible alliances, they would gladly escape; compelled to subordinate their private interests to their unnatural participation in public affairs; put upon explanations that can not be satisfactorily made to the better sentiment of the country, corporations find themselves equally unable to command public approval, or to resist the overtures of the hungry politicians they can not afford to defy.

These evils the moral sentiment of the country would correct if that sentiment could make itself felt. Unfortunately, we are fast becoming, if we have not already become, a government of party rather than a government of the people. We no longer discuss the claim of public men in the light of their ability and character as statesmen. The question of preference now turns on capacity for party leadership, and not on ability to point the way to patriotic ends. Unhesitating devotion to the common weal no longer commands the support of those who control party policies and name our public officials.

Party organization is not necessarily or even naturally antagonistic to the public good. The success of a particular party is sometimes essential to the highest interests of the country, sometimes indispensable to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and to the preservation of the fundamental and underlying principles of government. In these cases obedience to party discipline is as patriotic as it is commendable, but when our institutions are free from present or anticipated danger, when the public peace is secure, when a political victory involves no higher or more important end than the distribution of the offices not embraced by the classified service, or the regulation of commerce among the states and with foreign countries, or the promotion of the general welfare through constitutional and customary means, party fealty may become and sometimes does become immoral in its tendencies and demoralizing in its consequences.

When in the heat of a national or state campaign we read of campaign funds running up into the millions; when we see in the daily press lists of subscribers to those funds who are well known to represent and stand for corporate interests; when we contemplate the munificent sums set opposite their names, we can not escape the inquiry, why the moral sentiment of the country remains silent, and why those who believe in clean politics and honest government do not join

in general denunciation of methods, which like those, can but lead to the corruption of the franchise, and end in the debauchery of the public service.

The failure of the great liberty-loving, law-abiding, uncorrupted and incorruptible majority to respond to the dictates of the public conscience, and to act in obedience to their higher instincts, can be accounted for only on the hypothesis of their habitual subservience to the behests of party discipline, or of their inability to rise above the superstitious belief inculcated by party spirit, that those of their fellow-citizens who do not agree with them in politics, can not be safely trusted with the administration of public affairs.

In the language of Phillips Brooks, "The great vice of our people in relation to the politics of the land is cowardice. It is no lack of intelligence; our people know the meaning of the political conditions with wonderful sagacity. It is not low morality; the great mass of our people apply high standards to the acts of public men. But it is cowardice. It is the disposition of one part of our people to fall in with current ways of walking, to run with the mass, and of another part, to rush headlong into this or that new scheme or policy of opposition merely to escape the stigma of conservatism."

The first of these classes is made up of the victims of party spirit, those who at heart loathe and condemn political bosses and their methods, but lack the moral courage to assert their love of country through their personal independence. The second, of those who revel in the excitement and passion which the eloquent and wordy demagogue never fails to arouse. Either class is honest. Either prefers good government to bad, but neither can shake off the burden imposed by the national vice of political cowardice.

"If parties in a republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that they become destructive of public virtue,

the parent of a spirit antagonistic to that of public liberty, and eventually its inevitable conqueror. We have samples of republics where the love of country and of liberty at one time were the dominant passions of the whole mass of citizens. Yet with the continuance of the name and form of free government, but a vestige of those qualities remains in the bosom of any of those citizens. It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer that 'In the Roman Senate Octavius had a party, and Antony a party, but the Commonwealth had none.' Yet the senate continued to meet in the temple of liberty and talk of the sacredness and beauty of the commonwealth, and gaze on the statues of the elder Brutus and of the Curtii and Decii, and the people assembled in the forum not as in the days of Camilus and the Scipios, to cast their free votes for annual magistrates, or to pass upon the acts of the senate, but to receive from the hands of the leaders of the respective parties their share of the spoils, and to shout for one or the other, as those collected in Gaul or Egypt and the Lesser Asia would furnish the larger dividend."

An American soldier and statesman, who had faithfully served his country during a long and eventful life, was constrained to speak these words and to utter this warning to his countrymen sixty years ago, as he was entering on the duties of the highest office of the republic, which duties destiny permitted him to discharge but for the brief period of a single month. His words were intended to emphasize what to him then appeared perfectly clear, that the violence of the spirit by which parties were governed must be greatly mitigated or appalling consequences would follow as the inevitable result.

I may say with reasonable confidence that nine-tenths of the corporations now engaged in shaping public opinion would welcome the opportunity to abandon that policy and gladly confine their attention and devote their moneys to none other than the purposes of their creation. If they could be

relieved from the annoyances and dangers attending the attacks of the place-hunter and the professional agitator, and be protected against the demands of the greedy bosses in charge of party organizations, they would submit without remonstrance to all proper restraints and forget their past political affiliations in the more energetic prosecution of their corporate business.

It is within the power of the right thinking people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the American voters, to discredit the demagogue as a mischief-making agitator; and to overawe the greedy and conscienceless party managers into decent respect for the statutes intended to suppress law breaking, and to protect the public, including corporations, against being dragooned into contributing funds for the promotion of party success through the corruption of the franchise, but this most desirable consummation cannot be reached without unity of action, nor without concerted, persistent and continuous effort. If but the whole body of respectable citizens would move together, their triumph would be certain.

It is at this point that party spirit exercises its unfortunate influence. It fans the flames of past political antipathies. It appeals to the sentiments of party fealty, denounces party treason and insists that reforms can be had within better than without the party, and that nothing can be more disastrous than the success of the political adversary, which only professes virtuous intentions with the hope of securing the power it is certain to abuse in the future as it has done in the past. Such tactics scarcely ever fail to succeed and with their success the zeal of the reformer abates. Disheartened by defeat, he concludes that the struggle for good government is hopeless and then shapes his future course on the assumption that there is nothing left for him except to make the best of conditions that apparently cannot be controlled. Reformers forget that ultimate success depends on unflagging effort; that constancy and earnestness always tell with the

voters, even when they do not at the moment succeed, and that the potency of enlightened and disinterested public spirit becomes irresistible under the leadership of those who never despair and never forget "that the hour hand must make progress if only the minute hand keeps moving."

To prepare the people for this important, if not indispensable, work a new declaration of independence must be made and a new emancipation proclamation enforced. The absolute right of party managers to direct and control political action, without regard to its effect on public morals or the purity of the public service, must be repudiated, and those who have heretofore subordinated their personal convictions and moral instincts to the dominance of party spirit and party allegiance must cast off their shackles and assume the true position of American freemen:

"He is the free man whom the truth makes free  
And all are slaves besides."

A party may profess the greatest reverence for free institutions, and observe with rigorous fidelity the forms of the Constitution, while in fact it is engaged in establishing the control of a class representing interests not only inconsistent with but antagonistic to the common good. Herbert Spencer taught us that:

"This worship of the appliances to liberty in the place of liberty itself needs continual exposing. There is no intrinsic virtue in votes. The possession of representatives is not itself a benefit. These are but means to an end, and the end is the maintenance of those conditions under which each citizen may carry on his life without further hindrances from other citizens than are involved in their equal claims—is the securing to each citizen all such beneficial results of his activities as his activities naturally bring. The worth of the means must be measured by the degree in which the end is achieved. A citizen nominally having complete means, and

relieved from the annoyances and danger of an another who attacks of the place-hunter and the party and be protected against the demands of his party leader-in charge of party organizations, the some government, or remonstrance to all proper restraint methods that contravene political affiliations in the more. The true party man is he corporate business.

It is within the power of the majority, shall also prevail in the constitute the overwhelming majority reserves the right, when over-voters, to discredit the dictators in matters involving honor and agitator; and to overawe the hand, and political dishonesty, chicanery-managers into decent behavior, on the other, to obey the dictates of his suppress law breaking, walk the path marked out by good citizen-corporations, again, to do so leads to party defeat.

funds for the promotion of the party cannot be reformed except reformation of the party managers charged with its leadership, tion cannot be a more effectual way of discrediting party concerted, party to demonstrate that their policies and methods whole body is a inevitable and continuing disaster.

triumph is a class of corporations to which the line of reaction is a heretofore indulged in extenuation of corporate interference in public affairs does not apply. They first make appear themselves parties to combinations, having in view the control of particular lines of business, or the creation of monopoly, then and then seek through political manipulations to protect themselves against the action of the legislatures and the judgments of the courts. Such combinations are opposed to the principles of the common law, are prohibited by the statutes of many of the states, and condemned by congressional enactment; but they continue to exist, and their illegal operations progress without apparent let or hindrance. Every week we read of the formation of another trust of gigantic proportions for the avowed purpose of controlling some line of business in which the general public are vitally interested. Statutes do not intimidate, nor the judgment of the courts deter their promoters. They face public indignation with perfect equanimity.

and directors of these combinations  
 tions and take part in the formulation  
 denouncing trusts in the most unqualified  
 residents and directors understand that it is  
 condemn by statute, to occasionally prosecute  
 significant combination in the courts, and indignantly  
 the trusts in party platforms; but quite another, to  
 ment the work of the legislatures and the courts by  
 nized and aggressive public opinion, against which no  
 ohibited organization detrimental to the public good can  
 long maintain itself.

So long as the active opponents of trusts continue to treat all  
 corporations as equally bad and all combinations of capital  
 as equally pernicious, just that long they will continue to  
 reinforce the monopolists with allies, who have no sympathy  
 for, but are compelled to make common cause with them,  
 in order to protect themselves in the war they are being  
 foolishly and unjustly required to defend.

Corporations owning and controlling the railways of the  
 country represent the greatest combinations of capital.  
 They are peculiarly subject to governmental control and  
 regulation. Almost without exception they are engaged in  
 commerce between the states. That fact warrants interven-  
 tion by the general government to prevent non-competitive  
 combinations and to protect the public against unreasonable  
 and unjust discriminations. If complete success has not fol-  
 lowed congressional legislation in this regard, the enforce-  
 ment of the present statutes in their spirit and according to  
 their manifest intent may and probably will remove all just  
 grounds for complaint; if not, experience will eventually  
 point out such remedies as may be necessary for the accom-  
 plishment of this most desirable end.

Local public utilities, such as gas, electric light, and  
 water works, as also street railways, are from their very  
 nature under the direct supervision of local municipal  
 authorities, and nothing short of the wilful failure of such

relieved from the annoyances and dangers attending the attacks of the place-hunter and the professional agitator, and be protected against the demands of the greedy bosses in charge of party organizations, they would submit without remonstrance to all proper restraints and forget their past political affiliations in the more energetic prosecution of their corporate business.

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It is at this point that party spirit exercises its unfortunate influence. It fans the flames of past political antipathies. It appeals to the sentiments of party fealty, denounces party treason and insists that reforms can be had within better than without the party, and that nothing can be more disastrous than the success of the political adversary, which only professes virtuous intentions with the hope of securing the power it is certain to abuse in the future as it has done in the past. Such tactics scarcely ever fail to succeed and with their success the zeal of the reformer abates. Disheartened by defeat, he concludes that the struggle for good government is hopeless and then shapes his future course on the assumption that there is nothing left for him except to make the best of conditions that apparently cannot be controlled. Reformers forget that ultimate success depends on unflagging effort; that constancy and earnestness always tell with the

voters, even when they do not at the moment succeed, and that the potency of enlightened and disinterested public spirit becomes irresistible under the leadership of those who never despair and never forget "that the hour hand must make progress if only the minute hand keeps moving."

To prepare the people for this important, if not indispensable, work a new declaration of independence must be made and a new emancipation proclamation enforced. The absolute right of party managers to direct and control political action, without regard to its effect on public morals or the purity of the public service, must be repudiated, and those who have heretofore subordinated their personal convictions and moral instincts to the dominance of party spirit and party allegiance must cast off their shackles and assume the true position of American freemen:

"He is the free man whom the truth makes free  
And all are slaves besides."

A party may profess the greatest reverence for free institutions, and observe with rigorous fidelity the forms of the Constitution, while in fact it is engaged in establishing the control of a class representing interests not only inconsistent with but antagonistic to the common good. Herbert Spencer taught us that:

"This worship of the appliances to liberty in the place of liberty itself needs continual exposing. There is no intrinsic virtue in votes. The possession of representatives is not itself a benefit. These are but means to an end, and the end is the maintenance of those conditions under which each citizen may carry on his life without further hindrances from other citizens than are involved in their equal claims—is the securing to each citizen all such beneficial results of his activities as his activities naturally bring. The worth of the means must be measured by the degree in which the end is achieved. A citizen nominally having complete means, and

relieved from the annoyances and dangers attending the attacks of the place-hunter and the professional agitator, and be protected against the demands of the greedy bosses in charge of party organizations, they would submit without remonstrance to all proper restraints and forget their past political affiliations in the more energetic prosecution of their corporate business.

It is within the power of the right thinking people, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the American voters, to discredit the demagogue as a mischief-making agitator; and to overawe the greedy and conscienceless party managers into decent respect for the statutes intended to suppress law breaking, and to protect the public, including corporations, against being dragooned into contributing funds for the promotion of party success through the corruption of the franchise, but this most desirable consummation cannot be reached without unity of action, nor without concerted, persistent and continuous effort. If but the whole body of respectable citizens would move together, their triumph would be certain.

It is at this point that party spirit exercises its unfortunate influence. It fans the flames of past political antipathies. It appeals to the sentiments of party fealty, denounces party treason and insists that reforms can be had within better than without the party, and that nothing can be more disastrous than the success of the political adversary, which only professes virtuous intentions with the hope of securing the power it is certain to abuse in the future as it has done in the past. Such tactics scarcely ever fail to succeed and with their success the zeal of the reformer abates. Disheartened by defeat, he concludes that the struggle for good government is hopeless and then shapes his future course on the assumption that there is nothing left for him except to make the best of conditions that apparently cannot be controlled. Reformers forget that ultimate success depends on unflagging effort; that constancy and earnestness always tell with the

voters, even when they do not at the moment succeed, and that the potency of enlightened and disinterested public spirit becomes irresistible under the leadership of those who never despair and never forget "that the hour hand must make progress if only the minute hand keeps moving."

To prepare the people for this important, if not indispensable, work a new declaration of independence must be made and a new emancipation proclamation enforced. The absolute right of party managers to direct and control political action, without regard to its effect on public morals or the purity of the public service, must be repudiated, and those who have heretofore subordinated their personal convictions and moral instincts to the dominance of party spirit and party allegiance must cast off their shackles and assume the true position of American freemen:

"He is the free man whom the truth makes free  
And all are slaves besides."

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**INDUSTRIALS AS INVESTMENTS  
FOR SMALL CAPITAL ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY JAMES B. DILL, ESQ.**

**NEW YORK CITY**



## INDUSTRIALS AS INVESTMENTS FOR SMALL CAPITAL.

By JAMES B. DILL, Esq., of New York City.

### I.

The industrial movement must stand or fall by the proposition whether industrials are or are not to become an investment for the small capitalist.

I have read articles in public print by gentlemen of learning, sometimes by men of high political reputation, stating how industrials were promoted, organized and financed, but some of these gentlemen seemed to deal in matters other than those with which they had large practical experience. I have listened to presidents and professors of institutions of learning upon the promotion, financiering and the launching of industrial combinations. I have read much and heard much upon this subject, but in all frankness I say to you that I have yet to hear from one who has actually promoted, organized and financed a public industrial combination a public statement in detail as to how such organizations are really promoted, organized and financed.

I may add, parenthetically, if you please, that under the topic assigned me to-day I feel it would not be relevant for me to be the first to break this silence.

We are told that combinations are brought about by natural causes, that it is a natural evolution, and while it is quite true that antagonistic competition and business surroundings have tended to bring together the great industrial combinations, yet it has not always been for the good of the public at large that these large combinations have been created. It has sometimes been primarily for the good of the pocket of the promoter and the financier. The result of the promoter and the financier in combinations often appears in watered stocks, and overcapitalization.

The industrial of to-day is not always looked upon as the most conservative investment or as the security most desirable as bankable collateral, because many contain the promoter's reward concealed in the stock issue, resulting often in excessive capitalization. Recognizing this fact the true industrial does not always pay dividends upon its common stock, but quite frequently devotes its surplus earnings to making good the capital issued for good-will or other intangible property, driving out the water, if water there be, and creating a financial reserve ordinarily, but sometimes inaccurately, designated as surplus.

The true industrial withdraws its stock from speculations in the market, aiming to convert its stocks into securities valuable as an investment. The volume of trading in its stocks is sought to be decreased, to make its holdings of stock permanent rather than fluctuating.

Industry always, speculation never, affords a nation security, prosperity and ultimate success. The pursuit of the gambler and the occupation of the merchant are of widely different character. The true industrial differs as widely from the too common speculative specialty that goes under the name of the industrial as the merchant differs from the gambler. Such speculation is the opponent of industry, and speculation and industry cannot go hand in hand in any one organization.

If it be possible for any one man or body of men controlling as officers any industrial corporation, to close any factory or number of factories, to throw out of employment, either temporarily or permanently, large numbers of men; if it be possible that this may be done for the mere purpose of stock speculation, then it certainly follows that there is just cause for fearing grave disaffection. That combination whose energies through its board of directors and officers is mainly given to the Wall street end of the proposition is not an industrial in the true sense of the word. That corporation whose board of directors or officers devotes more time and

more attention to the ups and downs of the market price of its stock than it does to the distribution of dividends among the stockholders, to the increase in effectiveness of production, to the cheapening and bettering of the article produced, is the opponent of every honest combination of capital.

Without seeking to excuse the improper promotion and the unwise financiering, we must recognize the law of supply and demand. People are largely furnished with what they call for. The promoter and the financier, in bringing these combinations together, have had a keen eye to the public demands and in the future will have the same keen eye to what the public will take. If the public demands an investment they will be inclined to furnish an investment; if the public asks for a speculation, or gambling specialty, the promoter will flood the country with these until financial ruin stares many in the face.

As long as the American public are willing to gamble with the industrial interests of the country, just so long will the promoter force the water into the great arteries of trade, subverting the great industries of the nation into the mere tools for the gambler and the speculator, eventually resulting in the great injury to a nation of industries. This by no means excuses vicious promotion, or improper financiering, but speculation tends to encourage both evils.

There are certain invariable marks of promotion, speculation and schemes which will point the true character of the organizations beyond the possibility of a mistake. When one finds in the charter the language found in so many: "The stockholders shall have no right to examine the accounts, vouchers, books, papers of the company, except so far as they are granted by statute," the conclusion is inevitable that information will not be freely given to the stockholders.

A provision that the directors shall at the first election be divided into classes, a majority elected for a maximum term of years, suggests that those in control are not willing to

leave to the stockholders the question of whether they prove to be the proper managers of the business, are not willing to delegate to the stockholders in their annual meetings the power to displace the board, if the management is either mistaken, erroneous or even fraudulent. Thereby the promoters and financiers perpetuate themselves in office for a term of years, leaving the stockholders without recourse, by an examination of the books, to discover whether or not the business is conducted properly, taking from the stockholders the right to go to the stockholders at large and to open the question of the propriety or impropriety of the board of management.

There are industrials true and fictitious, there are wolves in sheep's clothing parading as industrials. The classes are clearly distinguishable if a proper examination is made. We have professional men who examine titles to real estate. We have Title Guarantee Companies who issue policies of insurance on titles, but the people seem to have no bureaus of information as to the industrial promotions and gambles that are so freely offered to the public, upon which they can rely with safety. The Exchanges do not seem to have resulted in keeping stocks improperly designated as industrials from the market.

Industrial combinations are producing a new class of financiers, a new order of corporation men. Business character and personal character cannot, in the long run, differentiate widely. Every corporation which attempts to go to the public and to place its securities should be held to the responsibility of selecting men of integrity and standing as its officers and directors. The institution which places stock manipulators and speculators in charge of its affairs should be promptly classified. The company which fails to put men in its board who feel themselves charged with a large and public duty toward its stockholders should fail to find a market for its securities.

If the journals of trade and commerce in our great

cities would accurately and impartially analyze the charter and by-laws of each corporation whose stock is to go to the public, the public would soon be educated as to the difference between the industrial and the Wall street gamble.

Panics would be confined to the promoters, and not extend to the investors, if the public examine first, invest afterwards. No man would invest \$1,000 or \$10,000 in the purchase of real estate, or loan that amount on real estate as security, without an examination of the property, a knowledge of its value, a certainty that it actually exists, and assurances that the title is good.

Use the approximately same care in the investment of \$1,000 or \$10,000 in an industrial security, and the first thing an investor will do, will be to demand an examination of the certificate of incorporation and the by-laws of the company. Although the stock is wholly dependent on the certificate of incorporation (sometimes called the charter) and upon the by-laws, yet the average man as a rule does not ever ask to see the charter or the by-laws. If every investor would insist upon seeing and understanding the charter and by-laws, and as well an accurate financial statement of every company before he would buy the stock, it would produce a revolution in corporate matters.

The law of supply and demand is the strongest law that can be invoked, and if there is a demand for speculative specialties in this country, the so-called industrials will be put together to answer that demand, rather than a demand for honest investment on the part of permanent investors.

It depends upon whether the investor demands information as to what he shall buy, as to whether he selects and exhibits the same care in the purchase of industrials as he would in the purchase of a horse, as to whether he exercises a fraction of the care in the purchase of industrial investments which he does in the purchase of the same amount of a real estate investment.

## II.

The entire country is demanding secure, interest-bearing investments in small denominations. The industrial combinations of to-day should furnish such investments. To-day the capital of corporations of integrity is sought for by investors for the returns which they afford, and the safety which they give.

Too many so-called industrials are not true industrials. If and when the industrials are properly classified, put upon a business footing, fictitious valuations adjusted, then, and not before, will industrials as a class become an investment.

The fact that the stocks of any company are largely the subject of speculation is an argument against its soundness and its integrity.

When a stock becomes an investment, then we are assured of the stability of the enterprise, we are certain that the business is being conducted for the benefit of the stockholders as a whole, rather than for the benefit of the few in power, by means of speculative enterprises. When an industrial combination places its securities upon the level of true investment for small capital then, as to that corporation nine-tenths of all the difficulties and doubts surrounding the present evolution of capital and combination are solved and settled.

The relation of labor to great combinations of capital is largely solved when the laboring man owns and holds as investments the stocks of the corporation. That corporation whose stocks are truly an investment, which takes the place with the laboring man of the savings bank, but at 6 per cent. instead of 3 per cent. interest, is on a sound basis and is not in conflict with the laboring man because he is a part of the corporation itself.

The question is often raised whether the real estate investment is the best for the laboring man. It has been argued that that laboring man who owns his own home instead of renting one, is so tied down that he is not able to avoid the

cutting down of his wages or to move elsewhere if higher returns are offered for his labor. The converse of this proposition appears when the laboring man holds the stock as an investment.

### III.

Finally, the question of the investment in industrials is not to be discussed from the standpoint of the promoter, the financier and the banker, but from the point of the ultimate distribution of industrial securities, that is, of the investment by the people at large, the small capitalist.

By the small capitalist, I refer to that class of men who have from \$100 to \$10,000, or more, to invest, and who, according to the argument of those opposed to combinations, are forced to withdraw their capital from mercantile business because of the pressure of competition resulting from combinations or from other results of the organization of capital. It solves the question of the small merchant otherwise perhaps forced out of business by competition.

If we accept the statement as accurate, that the man with \$10,000 invested in the dry goods business in the city of Philadelphia, may be driven out of business by reason of the greater inducements offered to the public by such business houses as that of Mr. John Wanamaker, then it is equally important to this man whose \$10,000 has been withdrawn from business that it should be reinvested with more security if with perhaps slightly less income from the capital.

The safety of industrials lies in the investment by the small capitalist rather than the large capitalist because, so long as the control of these large corporations is wholly in the hands of the large capitalist the corporations themselves may be managed for the best interests of the large capitalist rather than for the individual stockholders and the country.

The question then may possibly be, how can the majority stockholder make the most money, and if that is to be made best in the way of speculation, perhaps by buying and selling

the stock, or by the artificial raising and lowering of prices. The decision may not rest upon what is for the good of the many, but what is for the good of the few in control. As it is for the good of the industrials themselves, so it is for the people at large, that the small capitalist, the many capitalists and the many stockholders, hold the control of the company through its stock rather than to see it in the hands of the few or possibly the one.

I am forced to treat the subject with brevity and without due explanation or enlargement, a difficulty readily understood when the breadth of the topic is comprehended.

I do not desire to be understood as urging in the present state of affairs careless investments in the stock of all the so-called industrials, nor as suggesting that the common stocks of some so-called industrials are to be regarded as proper investments. I desire to be understood as suggesting that the industrials so-called of to-day include many false industrials; that the true industrials should be distinguished from the false, and that the true industrial is benefited by the investment of the small capitalist, and, on the other hand, in the true industrials (not in the speculative specialties) the small capitalist should find, and often will obtain, an investment reasonably safe and, by reason of the earning capacity of the industrial, productive of a larger income. To the man who needs 6 per cent instead of 3, the true, not the fictitious, industrial should present an opportunity for investment.

The suggestion attributed to Professor Hadley (perhaps erroneously) that the remedy for vicious promotion and improper financiering was the ostracism of the promoter and the financier to some seems to fall short of practicability. The principle is perhaps feasible applied to the stocks rather than to the men who made them, and I am urging that when and if the people discriminate between the good and the bad and ostracize by refusing to invest in the bad, that the occupation of the manufacturer and promoter of the false

industrial will cease to be a profitable one. Certainly the proposition must meet with approval that the nearer the corporation is managed to the line of the true industrial, which aims to make its securities honest and productive investments, to that extent the industrial movement will be improved.

It is also safe to assume that when and if the true industrial is evolved out of the present state of affairs that then the true industrial will be upon a better footing, if its stocks are widely scattered and firmly held by small investors throughout the country.

Combinations of capital improperly organized, managed and conducted for a purpose other than that for which they are apparently incorporated, viz., to conduct an industry on industrial lines, are an evil. Honest corporations, honestly organized, managed and conducted with a single eye to conduct a legitimate industrial business, whose capital is widely distributed, whose stocks are an honest investment for capital small and large, of such corporations we may confidently assert they are a lesser evil if we cannot agree that such corporations are a positive good.

In December last, before the American Economic Association at Ithaca, I had occasion to say that

"It seems true that any tendency in any corporation to have two interests in the business equally important and equally engrossing the attention of the officers, the one the business end of the corporation, and the other the speculative or Wall street end, is a tendency which may be, with emphasis, pronounced dangerous; dangerous to the corporation itself, as exposing it to attacks from sources other than those of the business itself; dangerous to the officers of the corporation, as tending to take their attention from the one and only end and purpose of the corporation, viz., the betterment of the industry in hand; dangerous to the stockholders, as furnishing them a false and unwarranted indication of the progress, or, as the case may be, the failure of the business itself,"

and I may add that recent events have not changed my opinion in this respect.

It is a matter of congratulation that the consideration of industrial combinations has moved up apace from the original standpoint from which it was first discussed. Mere denunciations, the simple calling of names and the use of adjectives and passionate declamations have been clearly demonstrated as lacking the weight of statements of fact and as failing to enlighten the public upon what is to-day a topic of pre-eminently public interest.

Not only has the manner of discussion been elevated, but the view point has been carried upwards as well. The main question to-day is not whether the washwoman buys her small quantity of kerosene at eight cents instead of six cents a gallon, the wholesale price, but rather whether the public as a whole are benefited by combinations of industrial capital and benefited, not only as consumers, not only as producers, but what is the finality of the question, as widely distributed investors of capital.

The results of public discussion on both sides of the question have been to bring the thinking men of both parties more nearly in accord, and with the result that the corporate standpoint has been elevated.

Criticisms made upon corporations and upon corporate methods have not always been without foundation. Men of integrity and honesty of purpose, among whom Attorney-General Frank S. Monett of Ohio stands prominent, have done much to elevate the standard of corporate morality in attacking corporate evils. Instead of disregarding the statements of such men, the wise corporation lawyer carefully weighs them and while from a corporation's standpoint one may not always agree in detail with the learned attorney-general, nevertheless, the corporation lawyer profits by his suggestion and endeavors to avoid being unduly subject to fair criticism in these respects.

Corporations of integrity are demanding that the public

investigate as between themselves and others, in order that their class may not be kept down to the level of those corporations which are otherwise situated. They are demanding, from a corporate standpoint, that the people shall become intelligent upon the subject of industrial securities, in order that the good industrial securities may not suffer with the bad.



**THE EVOLUTION OF MERCANTILE  
BUSINESS ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY HON. JOHN WANAMAKER**

**PHILADELPHIA**

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles.

2. The second part is a list of dates and times.

3. The third part is a list of locations.

4. The fourth part is a list of events.

5. The fifth part is a list of people.

6. The sixth part is a list of places.

## THE EVOLUTION OF MERCANTILE BUSINESS.

Address of HON. JOHN WANAMAKER, Philadelphia.

My topic is one car of the long train made up by the general subject of the afternoon—"Combination of Capital as a Factor of Industrial Progress." This annual congress forms a kind of sounding-board for live questions for the entire country, and because of this I wish to contribute what I can to the general stock of information.

Evolution is that series of steps through which anything has passed in acquiring its present characteristics. The term "mercantile" covers everything relating to trade and commerce. It was from a business point of view that this city, in which the American Academy of Political and Social Science to-day raises its sounding-board of live questions for the whole country, united some years ago its dozen or more separate districts and townships into one compact municipality, making possible an improved and economical city government.

Long since the slow movements of transportation by canal gave way to quick railroading. Naturally it was only a question of time for the sailing ship and slow freighter to be superseded upon the ocean by the fast steamship to expedite commercial transactions. The exigencies of changing markets, the factors of time, fashions, seasons, the value of capital locked up, compelled the initiation of the order of progression still going on throughout the mercantile world.

The first notable change in the conduct of commercial affairs was the partial withdrawal of agencies, commission houses and jobbing houses from Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and the establishment of offices and warehouses in the Western cities in the interest of lower freight rates and saving of time and expense to buyers coming from the West to the East.

As late as forty years ago, or before the war, the transaction of business in producing and distributing merchandise required many agencies: the manufacturer, importer, commission men, bankers, jobbers, commercial travelers, and retailers.

Until twenty years ago trade rules limited the sales of manufacturers to commission men, and those of commission houses to jobbers, so that the only market door open to retailers was the jobbers, whose goods were loaded, when they reached the retailer, with three or four unavoidable profits incident to passing the various fixed stages toward the consumer.

The conditions governing the placing of goods in the retailer's hands were not only heavily weighted with expense, but, in the main, the retail merchant was badly handicapped as a rule by

- (a) Small capital, commonly borrowed by long credit for merchandise.
- (b) Necessity of selling upon credit.
- (c) Necessity for larger percentage of profit.
- (d) Impossibility of utilizing to advantage store and people all seasons of the year.
- (e) Non-accumulation of capital.

The consequence was, according to accepted statistics, that but four out of every hundred merchants succeeded in business. Getting a mere living forty years ago was generally secured in part by the occupancy of a part of the store premises as a residence. Naturally, an undercurrent of discontent with these conditions manifested itself, protesting against two or more prices for the same article, meagre assortments of goods, high prices and the custom that probably grew out of one rate to cash buyers and a different rate to buyers upon credit.

The Centennial Exposition of 1876 was, in my judgment, the moving cause of a departure toward general business by single ownership. The rising tide of popular desire to

assemble under one roof articles used in every home and with freedom to purchase was a constant suggestion in 1876, not alone because of its convenience, but because to some degree it would form a permanent and useful exhibition. This idea culminated in the formation of a Permanent Exhibition Company, which succeeded the Centennial. Being located in Fairmount Park and not in a business centre, and without skilled management, the scheme was abandoned in a short time.

Up to 1877, so far as now known, no extensive, well-systemized mercantile retail establishment upon a large scale existed in the United States. The nearest approach was the A. T. Stewart store in New York, which limited itself to dry goods of the higher class, until the death of Mr. A. T. Stewart, when it took on lower classes of goods, and a wider, but still limited scope.

That Centennial Exhibition in 1876 at Philadelphia, the principal manufacturing centre of the country, the first great exhibition in America, opened a new vision to the people of the United States. It was the cornerstone upon which manufacturers everywhere rebuilt their businesses to new fabrics, new fashions and more courageous undertakings by reason of the lessons taught them from the exhibits of the nations of the world. The continuing outgrowth of that exhibition has revolutionized the methods of almost every class of mercantile business in the United States.

The tendency of the age toward simplification of business systems and to remove unnecessary duplication of expenses, awakened throughout the United States a keen study of means to bring about a closer alliance with the producer and consumer. Almost simultaneously in a number of cities, long-established stores gradually enlarged and new stores sprang up to group at one point masses of merchandise in more or less variety. The movement everywhere arrested attention and provoked discussion because of the approval and practical support of the people at large.

Though there probably was never a time in any city that there were not bankruptcies of merchants and vacant stores, yet after the opening of the large stores, it everywhere became common with storekeepers and renters to charge all the causes of disaster to the large stores, then and now commonly called department stores, and an unsuccessful effort was made to decry them as monopolies.

For the time being, and even now, to some extent, prejudice and perhaps unconscious selfishness blinds a part of every community upon public questions. The inequality of talents and the unequal application of individuals must always carry some to the top and others to the lower places in all pursuits of life. The highest statesmanship thus far known has not been able anywhere in the world to maintain a permanent equilibrium for the slow, slovenly and misplaced workers with the thrifty, well-trained and properly fitted toilers, and criticism begins whenever and wherever one man and his family gathers a business that outgrows their own hands.

Whoever conquers a higher place than his neighbor is supposed to face a commanding position, that at least makes his business way more difficult with his fellow tradesmen. Doubtless there must be some disadvantages arising from large single businesses of every kind. The growth of our splendid free libraries will to a certain extent curtail the sale of books and affect other established libraries; the ever enlarging and wonderful facilities and inexpensiveness of the universities and colleges of learning will interfere to some degree with many private academies and schools. The trust companies that undertook insurance of real estate and titles and conveyancing, and who became banks of deposits, interfered with the lawyers and bankers. The trolley affected the business of the horse dealer. The large stores certainly affect a certain part of the small stores. Neither well-dressed ignorance nor well-satisfied storekeeping ownership can argue down that fact.

In the olden times when any city was smaller the advent of even one more small store affected every other store in the block in which it located, mayhap in the entire city. The thing to be considered, and considered fairly from every point of view, is what the large single ownership businesses contribute to the well-being of the public to counterbalance any disadvantages arising from them.

First of all it must be remembered that society is not constituted for the benefit of any one particular class of the population. Economic questions cannot be voted on by any 10 per cent of the people; the other 90 per cent must have their say. Without sentiment or prejudice, the interests of all must be justly weighed and the greatest good of the greatest number must be gained.

I respectfully submit that the evolution in mercantile business during the last quarter of a century has been wrought not by combinations of capital, corporations or trusts, but by the natural growth of individual mercantile enterprises born of new conditions out of the experience, mistakes and losses of old-time trading; that the underlying basis of the new order of business and its principal claim for favor is that it distributes to the consumer in substance or cash compounded earnings hitherto wasted unnecessarily on middlemen; that thus far the enlarged retailing has practically superseded agents, commission houses, importers and large and small jobbers, thereby saving rentals, salaries and various expenses of handling; that the establishing of direct relations with mills and makers proves to be not only desirable for the saving of such costs as are dispensed with, but because less risks are incurred in preparing products and finding quick markets, thereby favoring lower prices; that the people must be taken into the equation when considering the right of certain businesses to a title of life, as they are responsible for the new conditions, highly value and heartily support them.

It is an old axiom that the water of a stream cannot rise

beyond its level. Neither can any business rise or thrive except at the will of the people who are served by it.

I contend that the department store development would not be here but for its service to society; that it has done a public service in retiring middlemen; that its organization neither denies rights to others nor claims privileges of state franchises, or favoritism of national tariff laws; that if there is any suffering from it it is by the pressure of competition, and not from the pressure of monopoly; that so long as competition is not suppressed by law, monopolies cannot exist in storekeeping, and that the one quarter of the globe that cannot be captured by trusts is most assuredly that of the mercantile trading world.

I hold that the evolution in trade was inevitable, because it was water-logged by old customs that overtaxed purchasers; that there was at work for a long time a resistless force moving towards the highest good of humanity; that the profit therefrom to individuals who have risked their own capital, as any man may still do if he chooses, has been insignificant, compared to the people benefited both by the cheapening of the comforts of life and by the improved condition of persons employed.

Philadelphia is believed to be a buying centre for 3,000,000 people. If each of them in a year's purchase of personal needs and home necessities saves on an average ten cents a day, the saving is \$10,095,000 in a year. Suppose it be but half that amount, there is still five millions to the good of the people to be put into their savings or their pleasures.

I may be asked how such a statement can be certified to. I reply, I am not offering this information as a statement of fact, because no statement can be made upon accurate statistics of the amount of merchandise purchased each year for individual consumption. I submit this as a fair estimate from an experience of twenty-five years and more of careful study, because I desire to be a witness for the truth, that it

may be used for what it is worth in discussing economic and social questions.

I can, however, be more specific in pointing out the effect of modern retailing upon prices:

*First.—Prices realized by the producer.* As he sells in large lots to single firms, whose outlet he becomes familiar with as to quantities and qualities, the producer is able to count more surely upon steady employment of his work-people, and having but one risk instead of many, and smaller expenses in handling goods, can without sacrifice of his own profit, materially reduce the price of goods.

*Second.—Prices paid by the consumer.* The reductions of the producer, plus the lessened costs of concentrated distribution by the retailer, are turned over to the consumer. Further, the variety of goods upon sale by the large retail house, unlike the exclusive merchant having only a two-season business and sometimes only one at the holidays, does not require profits from two or three months' sales to bear the year's rent, insurance and clerical force. An all-year-round business, bringing a steady current of buyers, is the essential thing to use buildings and clerks to advantage and warrant small profits.

It is an easily proven fact that the operation of the American retail system has reduced the prices of many classes of goods one-half in twenty years. But for the length of this paper I would add items in books, bicycles, furniture, woollen dress goods, clothing, housefurnishing goods and china. There are other causes of reductions operating in some instances, but a prominent cause is the bettered condition of retailing.

There are some who claim that the reduced cost of quinine was the removal of the tariff, but the fact is the Britons appointed a commission to learn the causes of its scarcity, and who, to reduce its price, sought the proper soil for the growing of abundance of trees, and thus increased the supply and lowered the price.

The evolution in American trading has planted trees that have borne good fruit for the people.

General Grant, in proposing the health of Sir William Armstrong at a dinner, laid his hand upon a hundred-ton gun and said the inventor of it had produced the most powerful peace-compelling implement the world had ever seen.

I believe the new American system of storekeeping is the most powerful factor yet discovered to compel minimum prices. Perhaps some one will ask what relation reduced prices of merchandise have upon labor. It is a noticeable fact that lowered prices stimulate consumption and require additional labor in producing, transporting and distributing. The care of such large stocks, amounting in one single store upon an average at all times to between four and five millions of dollars, and the preparation of and handling from reserves to forward stocks, require large corps of men. Under old conditions of storekeeping a man and his wife or daughter did all the work between daylight and midnight. The new systems make shorter hours of duty and thus the number of employes is increased, while many entirely new avenues of employment for women are opened, as typewriters, stenographers, cashiers, check-clerks, inspectors, wrappers, mailing clerks and the like. The division of labor creates many places for talented and high-priced men, whose salaries range alongside of presidents of banks and trust companies and similar important positions. It is universally admitted that the sanitary conditions that surround the employes of the large stores are better than in the old-time smaller stores and that employes are considerably better paid.

Inventions and new processes do not destroy employment any more than the sewing machine or typewriter or Mergenthaler typesetting machine has done so. I grant that in these and many similar cases the lines of employment have changed, but the newspaper adds thousands to its circulation by being ready hours sooner for mails to carry it to distant points, and the sewing machine and typewriter

machine have, like the uses of electricity, telephone, etc., created work and employment that did not previously exist.

Taking the number of employes in the old-time smaller store at an average of five, it would require, when the full complement of employes are on the pay-roll of a representative large store, as many as 1,200 stores to furnish as much employment, while the total payments of salaries would be very much higher in the large store than under the small store system.

Some of the large stores are commercial universities, where the young people are in classes in the evenings under competent teachers, and engaged upon the practical work of the store during certain hours of the day. A part of the new business is the Mutual Benefit Association, which is managed wholly by a board of representative employes, through which, in cases of sickness, accident and death, benefits have been given from 1882 to 1899 amounting to two hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and thirty-nine dollars and twenty-seven cents (\$246,239.27), nearly a quarter of a million of dollars.

In addition to the usual salaries fully up to and believed to be above the level of salaries usually paid, one mercantile firm is known to have paid to its employes by various schemes of co-operation the sum of six hundred and ninety-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-eight dollars and twenty-three cents (\$697,428.23), nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars—during a period of 1888 to December 31, 1899.

What is the effect of the modern retail store upon competition? Are its tendencies monopolistic in the control of merchandise or of trade? I counted yesterday the number of mercantile licenses of dealers, places and stores in Philadelphia in the year 1870. There were 16,560. To-day I obtained the number of notices of mercantile licenses thus far sent out in Philadelphia representing the stores and

places of business, and the figures given me are a minimum of 34,000, with an additional number yet to be issued.

The population in 1870 was 674,022, twenty years later it was 1,046,964, and is now variously estimated at from 1,250,000 to 1,300,000. The number of stores in 1870 (16,560) to the population of that date was 245 for every 10,000, while at the maximum estimate for 1900 the number of stores is 267 for every 10,000 persons. The increase in the number of business dealers has more than kept pace with the growth of the population.

Very few, possibly not more than 5 per cent of the retail stores of the United States are incorporated. They are as a rule under private individual ownership, and their business enterprise represents capacity and capital coupled with executive ability. It is not always the result of generalship; oftener it is, that it is "dogged that does it." Of such incorporated stores there are in this city twelve that did not exist in 1870 upon their present plan which furnish employment, by careful and, I believe, accurate estimate of 15,270 persons, a number almost equal to all the stores existing in 1870.

Extensive retailing in this country is the product of competition in buying and selling for there does not exist in retail business any known combination for the control of unpatented and unpatentable merchandise, nor for the fixing of prices in the interests either of merchants or manufacturers. The entire practical influence of the modern department store is powerfully against monopoly in any branch of manufacturing or selling. Retail merchants, in common with the public, may be at times for brief periods subject to combinations of makers of goods to control prices and create profits, but they are not, and never have been, parties to such measures, at least so far as publicly known.

If all the storekeepers of any one city were to combine, such a combination would not stand twelve months because of the power of manufacturers to become retailers, and

further, such a city of combinations would be overwhelmed with independent storekeepers from every other city, who would very properly expect and command the support of the people.

Public service is the sole basic condition of retail business growth. To give the best merchandise at the least cost is the modern retailer's ambition. He cannot control costs of production, but he can modify costs of distribution and his own profits. His principle is the minimum of profit for the creation of the maximum of business. The keen rivalry of retail trading is inimical to a combination between different and competing firms and companies. Such a combination would advance prices and diminish consumption and increase cost of production. The vast varieties of merchandise required by the modern retail store make combinations for the control of articles in process of, and possible of manufacture in every part of the world practically impossible. It is possible for retail merchants in several localities to combine purchases for the sake of economy, but such co-operation differs widely from the organizations commonly known as trusts. Neither would it affect retail prices save to reduce them.

Any control of the retail trade attainable rests entirely upon superior service and lesser prices, and must always be an unknown, or at least a changing quantity. It can never be vested permanently as a possession in any single hands, nor in any group of organizations. Popularity, founded upon distinct actual worthiness, is its only power to command. Success in some branches of mercantile life has its intense individuality, and is a matter of intense personality, much the same as in the journalistic and other learned professions. Only when personal ability and character can be translated into a franchise, can a retail business become a valuable entity. Until then merchandise, real estate and plant, such items as have commercial value, are its only assets.

I fully agree with the President of the United States in his last message, where he says:

"It is universally conceded that combinations which engross or control the market of any particular kind of merchandise or commodity necessary to the general community, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, whereby prices are unduly enhanced to the general consumer, are obnoxious not only to the common law, but also to the public welfare."

The evolution in business which I have endeavored to discuss has not sought nor has it the power to limit production or stifle competition or raise prices. On the contrary, its chief objectors are those who claim that it makes prices too low. It affects articles of supply of every home and of so many thousands of kinds and ever changing character that no other restriction can obtain than the natural demand. The fact that it deals with distribution and affords intelligent and economic treatment of merchandise increases employment.

It has demonstrated advantages to the public hitherto not common, if at all possible, to former systems. In increasing values of real estate, wherever large businesses are located, smaller stores crowd around them, in some instances changing the values of an entire neighborhood. Statistics prove that it does not anywhere crowd out competent and useful merchants. It saves a multiplication of agencies to the benefit of the consumer in reduced prices.

It introduces into mercantile business a measurably good civil service and provides a systematic commercial education for beginners in business in many business places. It elevates the position of employes, the large number of persons required, affords self-respecting assistance to employes in misfortune, and for the losses arising from sickness and death. It offers opportunity to educated business people of advancement and earning power not possible otherwise.

Its system of prices, guarantees and return of goods for

refund, not as a favor but as a condition of the contract of sale, is a boon to the ignorant and hasty buyer and to the public generally, not known until introduced by the new order of business.

The alteration in business conditions in the last quarter of the century has not only removed oppressive burdens resting on the public and added to the safety of investments in manufacturing, but it must surely reduce the number of wrecks along the shores of mercantile life.

The elevation of the standards of trade and business transactions must raise the level of the mercantile calling. There will come again a new race of merchants like Amos Lawrence, of Boston; William E. Dodge, of New York; Samuel Budgett, the Morleys, father and sons, the Copestakes and George Moore, of London; William Ewart, of Belfast, and Madame Boucicaut, of Paris.

It rests with the people to commend and command what serves them best. It is only when the fuel ceases that the fires of good government or good business methods burn out. If the public chooses to permit unwarranted taxation or restrictions upon private business enterprise, large or small, that cheapens whatever enters into the daily wants of every home, it only adds to the expense of living. Whatever the fixed charges of business are, whether they come from wastefulness or ignorance of merchant or legislator, it is the consumer who in the last analysis foots the bill. The keys of every public question are in the hands of the people, and it is the people alone who, by neglect and discouragement, slow up and stop the wheels of progress.



**THE INTEREST OF LABOR IN THE  
ECONOMIES OF RAILROAD CON-  
SOLIDATION ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY WM. H. BALDWIN, JR.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE LONG ISLAND RAILROAD**



## THE INTEREST OF LABOR IN THE ECONOMIES OF RAILROAD CONSOLIDATION.

WM. H. BALDWIN, JR., President of the Long Island Railroad.

It is my purpose to refer briefly to the general questions affecting labor, by reason of the consolidations of railroads. Any attempt to reach conclusions based on statistical averages will be avoided.

The limitations and qualifications necessary to be considered in comparing average wages for different periods, make such comparisons misleading. My position will be sufficiently proven by the testimony of the employes themselves. An exhaustive study of the question will not be attempted. Reference is made particularly to the five classes of labor employed in transportation service, as representing special classes of expert labor.

The extraordinary growth and consolidation of railroads in the United States and the development of trade union organizations in railroad service, offer an instructive example of the constantly increasing interdependence of labor and capital; such interdependence increasing in intensity in proportion to the increased combinations of capital. The results in this particular industry may well be applied to large combinations of capital and labor in other modern industrial pursuits. To appreciate the significance of the value of railroad consolidation to the public, it is only necessary to attempt to conceive of a return to the former conditions. The small independent railroads with their relatively small number of employes, each road with its own standards of equipment dependent upon the idiosyncrasies of its principal officers or directors; each road with responsibilities to the public as a carrier only to the extent of its own short line—all these limitations suggest a local independence which would permit to the railroad the employment of labor

on the basis of "supply" for its small demands. On the other hand, the gradual growth of large systems composed of many such small lines, produces a new and constantly growing responsibility to the public, until finally a point is reached where the law of supply and demand affects but remotely the skilled labor necessary in transportation service. In the last analysis, of course, wages are controlled by the law of supply and demand, but with increased complexity in transportation, large bodies of expert men, as a matter of fact, cannot be replaced within a reasonable time, and without so disturbing the service that the public would not permit a great transportation company to solve an important labor problem by so slow working a law. The function performed by railroads has become too important to the body politic to permit of any solution of these serious labor and wage questions, except by intelligent consideration on the part of the representatives both of the management and of the employes.

The effect of consolidation has brought many good results to the employes: an increased ability on the part of the railroads to pay higher wages; to employ more men; an improvement in standards of track and equipment, which has reduced the hours for a day's work and has made the service less dangerous. It has also made the employment of men in the service more regular throughout the year and thus kept together a regular force, and has developed a code of standard rules, governing the army of employes, which have dignified their employment and made more permanent their positions.

These are some of the most obvious advantages to labor resulting from the constantly increasing combinations of capital in the transportation service.

The ability to pay higher wages is due directly to the improved efficiency of the physical departments of the railroads, and the economy in cost of transportation produced thereby.

The short independent road, with its local traffic, gradually began to receive more and more through traffic from its connections. Such through traffic, naturally, was principally of a high class and carried at high rates, by reason of the crude conditions of service and the practical inability of any one of the lines, as a part of a through line, to increase its efficiency advantageously so long as other parts of the route were of a different standard. In certain respects the weak line in a series of through lines is like the weak link in a chain. The fifty-ton freight car loaded to its capacity could not be hauled over a bridge which was built for a ten-ton car and a twenty-five ton locomotive. The different standards of cars, the different gauges of track, the necessary transfers of freight at terminals, the rebilling of freight at junctions—with all the consequent delays—naturally led to the necessity for the elimination of such difficulties. From the fifty-pound iron rail and the ten-ton capacity car there has been developed the one hundred-pound rail, the fifty-ton car, the reduction in grades, the powerful locomotive, a reduced cost in operation and, as a final result, an enormous growth of the business interests of the country. This development has been made possible alone through increased financial ability by reason of larger security in the control of traffic.

Consolidation has not made, in my experience, considerable immediate savings in cost of operation. Oftentimes a small road may be added to a larger system and some of the expenses of organization may be saved. On the other hand, the wages paid and the class of service which the larger system gives to its new line may increase actual expenses, but such expenses are incurred for the purpose of improving transportation facilities and of increasing the gross traffic returns. Therefore the economy to the railroad company is not in the cost of handling the existing traffic, but in the reduced cost of handling the increased traffic resulting from the improved facilities given. Thus, with larger capital at

command, it is possible to make improvements and to develop a new low class heavy traffic, which is handled at a less unit cost. The saving by consolidation is, in short, due to the ability to develop business economically. Conversely, the business of any trunk line to-day could not be handled by a series of independent lines with varying standards, at the present rates which are profitable to the larger lines. With the improved efficiency and economy of transportation, rates have constantly declined and traffic has been continually developed. With increased density of traffic, the number of employes has been increased in proportion and has been paid a higher wage. The improved facilities and higher speed of trains have made the day's work for a trainman, not one hundred miles as a maximum, but as a minimum, so that to-day, with high speed trains, the trainman may earn in two hours time a wage higher than he earned in earlier days in five hours time. Even though the wage per mile run were the same to-day as in past years, the actual work which the trainman can physically do within reasonable hours is oftentimes 100 per cent. greater. The locomotive engineer of to-day may average easily one hundred and seventy-five miles per day, and at an increased rate of pay per mile over the one hundred-mile day of the past. But of even greater importance to the men themselves, to the railroad and to the general public service, is the highly developed set of rules governing the employment of men in train service. The seniority privilege, which provides that the oldest men in the service, if capable, are secure of regular advancement; the civil service rules governing their employment; the credit system which generally prevails to-day and which gives the employe full protection for good service done—in short, the desire of railroad corporations to keep their men so long as their service is satisfactory, and not to discharge them except for inefficiency—all of these rights and privileges have been recognized almost entirely by reason of the large consolidated railroad interests and

their consequent greater responsibility to the men and to the public.

The best proof of the relationship which now exists between the railroad corporations of this country and their employes is shown by the testimony of the representatives of the five principal labor organizations before the Industrial Commission on March 10, 1899. A few important passages will be quoted from the statement signed by the chiefs of the Brotherhoods of the Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Telegraphers. It seems to me of the highest importance that we should recognize their testimony as to the improved conditions which have arisen, if not by reason of, yet co-temporaneously with, this wonderful development and consolidation of railroad interests.

In their signed statement of March 10, 1899, they say:

"The employes . . . . are quite generally employed at rates of compensation and under terms of employment mutually agreed upon between the officers of the railway company and committees representing the men."

"The standard rate of pay for engineers in passenger service is three and a half cents per mile, freight service four cents per mile; firemen fifty-eight per cent of engineers' pay; conductors, freight service three cents per mile, brakemen, sixty-six and two-third per cent, conductors' pay; passenger conductors, one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month; passenger brakemen, fifty to seventy dollars per month; yard foremen, twenty-seven cents per hour for day work, twenty-nine cents per hour for night work; yard switchmen, twenty-five cents per hour day work and twenty-seven cents per hour night work."

"As a rule, the rates of wages are quite stable."

"The plan of keeping record by a system of merit and demerit entries has of late quite generally taken the place of suspension as punishment."

"Unjust or unreasonable dismissals and suspensions are becoming fewer in number and fewer in proportion to the whole."

"Road, train and enginemen have little or no complaint as to hours of service; they are generally paid for all excess hours; train and enginemen, as a rule, are paid overtime on a very fair basis. The labor organizations do not interfere with the employe who is not a

member, nor with his right to work; they depend upon their standing, reputation and works to attract to them all worthy and well qualified employees."

"The whole business and laboring world are more interested in stability of rates than they are in the questions of whether or not those rates are a fraction too high."

"There is no doubt but that consolidation of railway lines under one management has effected economies in the management and in the traffic and accounting departments. It is our experience that the large masses of the employees are not unfavorably affected by such consolidations. On the contrary, we can cite instances where the employees of a small railway which paid poor wages and afforded very unsatisfactory conditions of employment, have been greatly benefited by that line being absorbed by some large system and the employees thereby brought under the operations of the higher rates of pay, and much more advantageous conditions of employment which obtained on the absorbing system."

Special testimony from the firemen :

"The railroad employees have an understanding with the employers that there shall be no more men employed than is necessary to move the traffic with dispatch, and during the busy times they take advantage of it and earn big wages, and when the dull season comes, of course they earn an average wage."

"I have been associated with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen as its chief executive for fourteen years, and I have yet to find the first railroad officer with whom I could not do business and reach results that were acceptable to the organization which I represent."

"One of the best evidences of the relations between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the railway managers or operators is the fact that we are supplying a great many of our members to-day to the railway companies who are in need of experienced men. They telegraph to our office and ask us to supply the demand."

P. M. Arthur, Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers:

"In nearly every case, with few exceptions, during my administration of twenty-five years we succeeded in effecting an amicable adjustment, . . . so that to-day we have written agreements embodying the rate of pay, the rules for the government and protection of the men, with ninety per cent of the roads in the country. We have succeeded . . . in increasing the wages of locomotive engi-

neers from sixty dollars per month to three and a half cents per mile for passenger service and four cents per mile in freight."

"We believe in protecting the men in everything that is right and just. We have never dictated to a railroad whom they shall or shall not employ."

It is clear that such testimony as the above could not have been given if the railroads had continued to be operated as small separate lines. In railroads, more than in any class of labor in this country, we have seen the results of wise leadership on the part of the trade unions. Both capital and labor aim at monopoly; the best result is obtained only when intelligent counsel prevails. The railroads are moving on toward greater consolidations and with constantly increasing benefit to their million employes and to the public. More and more each year the managements of railroads acknowledge their public duties, more and more each year the operation of railroads is becoming a governmental function, so that, as I see it, the best condition will be reached when the relations between the government and the railroads are intelligently defined, with the management and operation left in the hands of private persons. The ideal condition is to so operate the railroads as to approach an ideal governmental operation and yet to retain the ownership in private capital. As a most vital and important element of this condition, the government should recognize the necessity of preventing unlicensed and unbridled competition between the carriers; of giving real publicity to the operations of transportation companies; of protecting the railroads so that they may maintain reasonable rates, as well as of protecting the public against unreasonably high rates. With these provisions the public and the stockholders will be protected and the large army of railroad employes, in their turn, will be protected in respect of their reasonable wage. As was stated in the testimony above by the representatives of the employes of the railroads of the country, "the whole laboring world is more interested in stability of rates than it is

in the question of whether or not those rates are a fraction too high."

The organizations of labor in railroad service have for the most part avoided the mistakes made by labor organizations generally, in that they have not demanded the employment of union labor, or the non-employment of non-union labor. This intelligent direction of their interests on their part has made the relations between the unions and many of the railroads most cordial. Arrogance and ignorance have been avoided on the part of both, and the results generally have been profitable to the railroads, the employes and the public. The centralization of capital in railroads tends, by a natural process, to put the direction or control in the hands of the ablest and best men the country produces. With railroads tending more each year to single control, what is the advantage to the employe and to the railroad? Each year the railroad operation becomes more vital to the interests of the whole people. Every business, social and political action demands that the arteries of travel shall be open. The processes of distribution have changed so that to-day the order placed in London will be shipped almost direct from the point of production. This is due to the highly organized methods of transportation which allow prompt and immediate distribution. So also is this evident in the changed conditions of our retail trade throughout the country. No longer does the retailer purchase his supply of goods from a middleman who has his full season's supply stored and on hand for distribution, but the retailer orders his goods in advance, the exact amount of the orders made is produced, and the goods are shipped almost direct to the retailer; so intimately have the accurate methods of transportation entered into industrial life and prevented the waste of unnecessary accumulation and overproduction.

Under these conditions, in what position is the expert employe of the railroad? What is his advantage? How far can he advance his wages and what controls his demand?

On the one hand, is the large railroad system which must continue its operations and to which the labor of its trained employes is necessary. On the other hand, there is a body of men who recognize the whole situation, but are controlled by making demands which they believe to be reasonable, the term reasonable meaning the demand which they believe the public would endorse. The history of railroad wages has shown that the public has been willing always to recognize the responsibilities of railroad men, and has given its sympathy to them in their reasonable demands. The employes, as a rule, have shown an intelligent understanding of the reasonable wage, and when they have not acted fairly and wisely they have not been supported by the public, have been refused their demands by the railroads and have learned that reason must prevail.

One of the most important needs of the times is to secure intelligent conservative leaders as attorneys, to counsel, advise and interpret a reasonable position for the armies of men in our various industries. How important it is to have such leaders is shown by the satisfactory relations between the railroads and their employes, as the testimony above indicates.

This important principle was illustrated a few years ago by the following instance: A large railway system, which had been in the hands of receivers for some years, had reduced the pay of its men 10 per cent. The wages paid were 10 per cent. less than the wages paid for similar service on lines similarly situated. In time the security holders were asked to stand a reduction of their holdings. The road was reorganized. It was placed on a sound financial basis, but with a fixed charge equal to the probable net earnings of the road. Soon after the reorganization the men asked for a restoration of their old rate of pay. The request of the men was refused, on the simple ground that the road could not afford to increase its expenses, that the wages paid under all the conditions existing were reasonable wages for

the work done. No promises were made for restoration in the future. It was a clear cut, well defined issue based on ability to pay and not on any question of standard wages so called.

A thorough and complete understanding was had, however, in respect to the rules and regulations to govern the employment of all the employes, so that the rights of the men, their conditions of employment and their interest in the prosperity of the railroad were thoroughly understood—this, in my judgment, being of much more importance than any question of increase or decrease in the rate of pay. After protracted and repeated interviews, the employes accepted the position of the company. From that day the company prospered in all its departments and gradually improved its standards and its service, to the great advantage of the public, its business interests and of the men. Finally, when its financial ability permitted it to do so, it restored the wages which had been in effect previously. This was a case of intelligent co-operation by organized labor. During that controversy it is interesting to note that the public press throughout the states where those lines were operated was almost unanimous in its support of the railroad in its position. It was the public sentiment that served as the jury for that case, and so it will always be, and the public, in my judgment, will always be a fair jury both to the railroad as well as to the employes, PROVIDED they know all of the facts in the case, and further provided that the operations of the road are known to be administered wisely and in the interests of the public.

In the future, the times may not warrant even the present rates of wages; and if they are to be reduced, it will be well if the public is fully informed through the publicity of accounts of the actual conditions of railroads, so that it may be the final arbiter of the reasonable wage for employes in a quasi-public service.

President Hadley says: "The railroads of the country at

the present time, taking good years and bad together, are probably not earning more than 3 per cent. on the actual investment." If, then, with the public fully advised, in competition with the markets of the world the rates on traffic must be so reduced as to curtail the fair return on what may be called actual values, the men on their part may not make unreasonable demands, nor will the public support them in so doing.

But meanwhile it seems to me evident that labor will continue to profit from the very size of the railroad systems involved. The conservatism of large railroad corporations means intelligent and careful consideration of all matters pertaining to the personnel of their organization.

In just such ways as have been so clearly demonstrated in railroad operation in the past, will the economies to labor work out in the other great industrial corporations of to-day. The modern trust, by reason of its economies in cost of production due to its large financial ability, will be able to pay the highest wage possible in its competition with the markets of the world; will tend to give steady and permanent employment, and more and more will approach in many ways a public service.

In conclusion, then, it is to me apparent that together with the increased tendency to consolidation of railroad systems, improvement in service, increased efficiency, larger demands for high class service, greater need for economy in transportation, there has been developed a higher standard of men in their employ; a wiser and more intelligent understanding on the part of employes as to their true relation to the service; an improvement in the conditions of employment; a higher wage for the same service done; shorter hours for a day's work, and, withal, generally a cordial understanding and appreciation of the rights of both employer and employe.



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IV  
THE FUTURE OF PROTECTION



**THE INDUSTRIAL ASCENDENCY OF  
THE UNITED STATES ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY HON. NELSON W. ALDRICH,  
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM RHODE ISLAND**



## THE INDUSTRIAL ASCENDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Hon. NELSON W. ALDRICH, United States Senator from Rhode Island.

The industrial ascendancy of the United States is established by a comparison of the magnitude and character of her industries with that of her great rivals, Great Britain and Germany. It is evidenced alike by the larger aggregate and per capita value of her industrial products and by the much greater collective and individual earnings of her people. It is emphasized by a rapidity of growth unparalleled in the world's history.

In the limited time at my disposal I shall not attempt to enter upon an inspection of the whole range of our important industries, but shall confine myself to an examination, which will necessarily be general in its character, of the growth and prospects of American manufactures. The great importance of an investigation of this nature must be apparent when we consider that our continued industrial supremacy depends upon the assured progress and prosperity of our manufactures.

The published reports of the eleventh census contain the story of results accomplished up to 1890. For the years which have elapsed since 1890 we fortunately have sufficient data to enable us to approximate closely the percentage of growth which has taken place during that period. I will have printed, in connection with this paper, a statement showing the relative increase in production for the years 1890 to 1899, inclusive, in the United States, Great Britain and Germany. The tables in regard to Great Britain and Germany are less complete than those for the United States, but they are sufficient for the purpose of this inquiry. I will not stop to read this statement, but will content myself with stating the percentages of increase in each case.

The increase in the production of coal in the United States in the decennial period was 52.1 per cent, in Great Britain 11.2 per cent, and in Germany 46.6 per cent. As coal furnishes the basis for most industries these figures, perhaps, constitute the best test of the relative growth of the productive forces of the three countries.

It is a gratifying fact that in 1899, for the first time, the production of coal in the United States exceeded that of Great Britain. This statement becomes more interesting from the fact that a generation ago Great Britain's output was four times that of the United States and more than one-half of the world's total. Germany's output at that time was 15 per cent more than that of the United States, while in 1898 the output of the United States was 57 per cent more than that of Germany. In 1868 the coal production of the United States exceeded that of France by seventeen millions of tons, while in 1899 the excess of the American over the French product was more than two hundred millions of tons.

The increase in the production of pig iron in the United States in this period was 48 per cent. When we consider that it is a generally accepted fact that the rate of increase in the production of iron and steel in a country is a fair test of its advance in civilization in the arts, this large increase is most satisfactory. The increase in the production of pig iron in Great Britain was 11.2 per cent, while the increase in Germany was 72.3 per cent. It will be seen that the percentage of increase shown in Germany was greater than that in the United States, owing to the relatively small production in Germany in 1890. The actual increase in tonnage, however, was greater in the United States, the figures being an increase of 3,400,000 metric tons in Germany and 4,400,000 gross tons in the United States.

The increase in the number of cotton spindles was 25.6 per cent in the United States and 4.9 in Great Britain. The percentage of increase in this case is smaller than any of the

others under consideration, doubtless owing to the unusual depression in cotton manufacturing which continued during a considerable portion of the last ten years. The consumption of cotton, however, increased 56.2 per cent in the United States, while the increase in Great Britain was 9 per cent. These figures show very plainly the marked increase which has recently taken place in the productive capacity of American cotton machinery. The relative figures for Germany are not available, but it is safe to say that the increase of cotton manufactures in that country was much less relatively than in the United States.

Our imports of raw silk increased 52.9 per cent during the period named, while those of Great Britain increased 15.8 per cent and those of Germany 35.3 per cent.

The increase in the general business of the United States is shown by the increase in the transactions of the New York clearing house of 52.3 per cent, of deposits in national banks of 53.6, and of deposits in savings banks of 46.2 per cent.

We can assume that the number of persons employed in our manufacturing establishments increased proportionately with the increase of production, as the average number of employes in the decennial period ending in 1890 increased 65.77 per cent, while the increase in the value of the product was 69.31 per cent. The increase in the number of persons employed in specified industries in Germany, as shown by the German industrial census of 1895, was for thirteen years, from 1882 to 1895, 39.9 per cent, while the number of persons engaged in all textile industries in Great Britain decreased 2.2 per cent from 1890 to 1897.

Another indication of relative industrial growth is furnished by the fact that the domestic exports of the United States increased 42.4 per cent during the last ten years, while those of England increased 11.8 per cent and those of Germany 12.9 per cent. During the fourteen years ending 1899 the value of the domestic exports of Great Britain

increased 99 millions of dollars, those of Germany 212 millions, those of the United States 478 millions of dollars.

The figures I have given, taken together, show a probable increase in the manufactured product of the United States from 1890 to 1899 of from 40 to 50 per cent. Taking into account the decline in prices which has taken place, it is safe to assume that the total value of the manufactured products of the United States for the census year 1900 will be more than twelve thousand million dollars. This assumes, of course, that aggregate values will be ascertained by the same methods that were employed in taking the eleventh census.

Mr. Mulhall estimates the total value of the manufactured products of Great Britain in 1896 at 4,239 million dollars, and of Germany at 3,339 millions. If these estimates are approximately correct, as I presume they are, the annual value of the manufactured products of the United States is 2,000 millions greater than that of Great Britain and Germany combined.

The facts I have stated but partially disclose the great advances which have taken place in German manufactures as compared with those of Great Britain in recent years. One indication of the respective growth of the industries of the two countries is found in the fact that Great Britain furnished 39 per cent of our imports in 1860 and 17 per cent in 1899, while Germany furnished 5 per cent in 1860 and 12 per cent in 1899. The influence of the aggressive warfare which the managers of German industries are making for the control of markets, is felt throughout the world. American manufacturers, intelligent and energetic as they are, have much to learn from the experience and success of their German competitors.

In considering the recent progress of American production we should not fail to take into account the influences that retarded our normal industrial growth in the years following 1892. The widespread fears aroused by persistent agitation of monetary questions unsettled confidence at home and

abroad in the stability in value of our currency. Tariff agitation, culminating in the reactionary legislation of 1894, also had a deleterious effect. These influences arrested development to a considerable extent. For instance, the production of pig iron for the years 1894 to 1896 averaged annually but 8,200,000 tons, while for the three succeeding years the average was 11,700,000 tons. The average annual consumption of cotton in 1895 and 1896 was 2,500,000 pounds, and in 1898 and 1899, 3,250,000 pounds.

The same influences were felt in both imports and exports of manufactured goods. The value of the average annual exports of manufactured articles for the three years ending March 1, 1896, under the tariff act of 1894, was \$193,500,000, while for the three years ending March 1, 1900, under the act of 1897, the annual average was \$332,700,000. The annual average imports of manufactured articles ready for consumption, for the first period, under the act of 1894, was \$155,000,000, and for the two years 1898 and 1899, under the act of 1897, was \$103,000,000.

It is evident from an analysis of the comparative figures I have given, that notwithstanding the drawbacks I have mentioned, the progress of American manufactures has been much more satisfactory than that made by either of our principal competitors. A student of our industrial history is constantly impressed with the remarkable changes which are taking place in the character as well as the extent of our manufactured products. A generation ago American manufacturers were satisfied if they held a considerable portion of the domestic market for the lower grades of manufactured products, including the coarser cloths, both cotton and wool. No successful attempts were made to produce the finer articles of manufacture in any of the great lines of industry. To-day we hold the largest portion of the market for the finest goods of every description. A large part of the textile machinery of the United States is to-day employed in the production of goods which could not have been profitably

made in the United States thirty years ago. The revolution has been scarcely less radical in all the great industries.

In order to show how completely our domestic manufacturers have control of the American markets, I will say that the percentage which the imports of cotton manufactures bore to the total domestic consumption of cotton goods in 1899 was 3.4 per cent. The percentage of manufactures of wool was 5 per cent, of clothing, 1.4 per cent, and of the manufactures of iron and steel, 6 per cent. To illustrate the changes which have taken place, I will say that in 1860 we imported 25 per cent of our consumption of cotton manufactures, and 32 per cent of our consumption of woolens. Great Britain imports annually in value of manufactured products about \$16.00 per capita, while the United States imports but \$3.50 per capita.

American manufacturers have not only retained their hold on the home market, but they have successfully invaded foreign markets, and secured a constantly increasing proportion of international trade, as is clearly shown by the remarkable growth of our manufactured exports.

It is the character of international trade and not its extent that determines the measure of benefit to a country.

Under modern conditions, manufactures are not only necessary for successful industrial organization, but they also furnish the most satisfactory basis for profitable foreign trade. This latter fact is established by the experience of Great Britain for half a century. The remarkably successful efforts of Germany to extend her foreign trade through the protection and consequent prosperity of her manufactures, furnish another striking illustration of the accuracy of the statement.

The foreign trade most desirable for the United States to promote is that which provides for the exchange of her manufactured or partially manufactured products, those requiring the greatest amount of skill and labor in production, for the products of other countries which, from climatic

or other causes, cannot be produced here, or which we cannot produce with an equal expenditure of labor or skill. Foreign trade of this nature builds up domestic manufactures.

The manifest interest of the United States lies in enlarged exportation of manufactured rather than agricultural products. From a national standpoint it is clearly unprofitable for us to send abroad to other industrial countries our crude materials and food in exchange for manufactured articles in the production of which we have equal natural advantages. If our agricultural products could be first transformed into finished manufactured articles and then exported, great saving in the cost of transportation and other expenses would result, but the indirect consequences, from an industrial standpoint, would be even more important. Manufactures, once firmly established and covering the entire field of industrial creation, become the most effective agency for securing permanent improvement in the character of national productive forces.

It is quite natural, however, that our people, with a productive capacity in excess of their requirements, should seek an outlet for the disposition of their surplus, but in our commendable search for new markets for American products we should not forget, however, that it is still necessary for the continued prosperity of American manufacturers that they should retain the American markets, and that there should be no diminution in the purchasing ability of the American consumers from the present high level. This retention of domestic markets is rendered all the more imperative from the fact that under existing conditions many of our manufactures are only profitable when conducted on a large scale. We cannot overlook the fact that the strenuous contest for markets, enforcing a demand for cheaper methods and greater economies in production, is bringing about revolutionary changes in manufacture. A margin of profits is secured only by the savings in cost of administration and distribution, and by the use of better methods and stimulated

improvements in machinery, rendered possible through largely increased production.

I believe that in most cases where American manufacturers have wrested the control of the American market from foreign competitors the result has been lower prices for the product throughout the world. In a great number of instances we have, by the improved methods to which I have alluded, by a much greater use of machinery, and by the superior skill and enterprise of our mechanics, reduced the cost of production in the United States to a point which has enabled us to sell our goods in neutral markets. The number of articles that we can successfully produce in competition with our industrial rivals is constantly increasing.

But the advantages to which I have alluded do not exist in all cases, and the high level of earnings of all persons engaged in useful employments in the United States still necessitates a relatively higher cost of production here in many articles, and in order to enable the American producer in these articles to meet his foreign competitor in our own markets, it is necessary to equalize conditions by levying protective duties. In cases, however, in which the home market is extensive enough to awaken the inventive spirit and enlist the highest type of American skill and enterprise in production, we are constantly encroaching upon the markets of our industrial rivals and enforcing our demand for a fair share of foreign trade.

Having in view the standards for profitable American commerce, which I have endeavored to establish, it will be interesting to examine the changes which have taken place in the character of our imports and exports, as the nature of these indicate the growth in our productive capacity.

We will first take imports. I have assumed that the public interests would be promoted by increasing the importations of crude materials used in our industries, and by diminishing the importations of manufactured articles which compete with our own products. In the period from 1846

to 1861, when the revenue tariffs of 1846 and 1857 were in force, the proportion which articles in a crude condition used in American industry, bore to the entire importations, was 14 per cent. In the period from 1876 to 1890, this proportion had increased to 24 per cent. During the years 1898 and 1899, under the tariff act of 1897, the proportion was 31 per cent. In the first period I have mentioned, from 1846 to 1861, the percentage which the imports of articles manufactured ready for consumption, bore to the total imports, was 35 per cent. In the second period it was 20 per cent and in the years 1898 and 1899 it was 15.5 per cent. From 1846 to 1860 the increase in dutiable imports was 175 million dollars, from 1876 to 1889 the increase was 168 million dollars, while during an equal period in years from 1885 to 1899 there was an actual decrease in imports of one million dollars.

Coincident with this remarkable decrease in manufactured imports, we have even a more remarkable change in the character, and increase in the value of our exports. The value of our total exports rose from 316 millions in 1860 to 845 millions in 1890, and to 1,227 millions in 1899. The value of the exports of domestic manufactures in 1860 was 40 millions, or \$1.25 per capita; in 1890 151 millions, or \$2.41 per capita; and in 1899, 339 millions, or \$4.46 per capita. If we should take separate items we should find the increased rate more marked. For instance, the value of the exports of miscellaneous manufactures of iron and steel increased from 5 millions in 1860 to 25 millions in 1890 and to 93½ millions in 1899. In 1860 our exports of domestic manufactures formed 12.76 per cent of our total exports; in 1890 the proportion had risen to 17.27 per cent, and in 1899 to 28.21 per cent.

The statistics of total foreign commerce are not as favorable to the United States.

We find that the growth of our foreign commerce, between the years 1885 and 1899, was 45.9 per cent, while our

exports increased in the same period 65.1 per cent. The total foreign commerce of Germany increased in the years 1885 to 1898, 52.7 per cent, and her exports increased 31 per cent. The total foreign commerce of Great Britain increased, in the last period named, 22.2 per cent, while her exports increased 9.4 per cent. It will be observed that the increase in total foreign commerce was greater in Germany than in either Great Britain or the United States, but that the United States led the others in the growth of her exports.

While the growth of the foreign commerce of the United States is very creditable to her enterprise, it does not furnish the best indication of her real position as a commercial nation.

There is a class of people in this country who are inclined to follow the theories of British economists and exaggerate the importance of international trade. These theories had their origin in geographic rather than economic conditions.

The comparatively small area of the leading commercial nations of Europe gives a character to their foreign commerce which finds no analogy in a country of continental proportions like the United States. In one case the transportation of products a short distance across a river, a mountain range, or some less tangible boundary, constitutes foreign commerce, while in our country the exchange of the manufactured products of New England for the fruits of California or the cotton of Texas is classed as domestic trade. The value of the merchandise which crosses the English Channel, the North Sea, the Adriatic or the Mediterranean, swells the vast sum of European international trade, while the much greater value of American products transported across our Great Lakes or the gulfs and bays that stud our coast is not taken into consideration in estimating the foreign commerce of the United States.

A large portion of the internal commerce of the United States is analogous in every respect to the international commerce of Europe, and no comparison which seeks to determine the relative commercial importance of the nations

of the world can be fairly made which does not take this fact into consideration.

Mr. Mulhall estimates the value of the internal trade of the United States in 1894 at 14,466 million dollars. I believe that this estimate is a very conservative one. He estimates the internal trade of Great Britain for the same year as 5,774 millions, and that of Germany at 5,590 millions. If to these respective sums we should add the foreign commerce of each of these countries for the last year for which the statistics are available, we should have this result:

The total domestic and international trade of the United States would amount to 16,367 million dollars, that of Great Britain would amount to 8,900 million dollars, and that of Germany to 7,693 millions. It will be seen that the total trade of the United States is approximately equal to that of Great Britain and Germany combined. When we consider that the population of Germany in 1895 was 52 millions, and that of Great Britain in the same year was 39 millions, or a total for both countries of 91 millions, while the population of the United States for the same year was less than 70 millions, we can better form some idea of the pre-eminence of the United States as a commercial nation.

The array of statistics which I have presented disproves the teachings of that class of political economists who confidently assert that there can be no normal growth of either domestic production or foreign trade in a country which has adopted a protective policy. Those who make the assertion are forgetful of facts and do not comprehend the nature of the policy. It is not a policy of exclusion, but of discrimination. It does not seek to arrest foreign commerce, but to direct its flow into profitable channels. It is not a policy of restriction, but of expansion—expansion through a better diversification of national industries and a more thorough organization and development of national forces.

It should be the primary purpose of our protectionists to aid through intelligent legislation, in the great work of

American industrial evolution, and to encourage such agencies as will contribute to this result. Intelligent advocates of the protective policy have no programme to enforce, except such as conforms to the demands of our national interests from time to time.

The creditable record of the past adds to our sense of responsibility for the future. We shall, however, enter upon the new century better prepared than ever before, for industrial conquest, and with many conditions favorable to our continued success.

We have reason to believe that recent legislation has settled the policy of the United States in regard to its currency and standard of value for the next generation. This will give confidence to enterprise and do much indirectly to aid in industrial development. The tariff policy of the country may also be looked upon as settled for many years to come, and this fact should also give a feeling of security alike to employers and employed. I do not mean that changed conditions will not necessitate an occasional revision of tariff rates; but we may confidently expect that these adjustments will be made with a view to protect and conserve our national interests.

To secure any considerable increase in our foreign trade in domestic products in the face of the fierce competition we are certain to encounter will, however, under any possible circumstances, make serious demands upon the resources of American producers.

Every community interested in manufactures must furnish to its people better means for thorough technical education, having special reference to the demands of local industries. Our manufacturers and merchants must study more carefully the requirements of foreign markets. They must profit by the valuable experience of their rivals. They must acquire a better knowledge of the habits, demands and language of their customers. In styles and in preparation for transportation they must be governed by the wishes, or prejudices,

if you please, of their customers, and not by their own preconceived notions. Our capitalists and merchants must establish banking and commercial agencies wherever an extension of our trade is possible.

Equally exigent demands rest upon the national government in this connection, which can be met, first, by affording our people better facilities for transportation through the encouragement of frequent and direct steam service with the countries that are our natural customers. We should not hesitate to adopt, in this respect, the agencies that have been found so effective in the experience of other commercial nations; second, by the adoption of commercial treaties or reciprocity arrangements looking to the extension of our trade with our South and Central American neighbors and the countries of the Orient; and third, by providing a more efficient consular service.

The great work of extending our reciprocal trade in the manner I have indicated, should be promptly inaugurated. Our commercial rivals have, either through actual absorption of territory or by increasing their respective spheres of influence, secured advantages of more or less importance in most of the neutral markets of the world, outside of the area I have named.

With a full understanding of the nature of the task we have in hand we shall not fail.

We enter upon the great industrial contests of the future with the prestige of unparalleled achievement. We have unequaled natural resources. Our productive forces are fully developed. Our industries are thoroughly organized. We have unrivaled wealth of soil and inexhaustible mineral deposits. Better than all, we have a vast army of intelligent, alert, and self-reliant producers, who are receiving a constantly increasing proportion of the benefits derived from our superior industrial organization.

With such resources and such a people the industrial ascendancy of the United States is secure.

*United States.*

	1899.	Percentage of Increase.
Tons pig iron production . . . . .	9,202,703	48.0
Tons coal production . . . . .	157,770,963	52.1
Number cotton spindles . . . . .	14,495,000	25.6
Consumption cotton, bales . . . . .	2,335,000	56.2
Tons freight carried one mile . . . . .	79,192,985,125	44.6
Imports of raw silk, pounds . . . . .	7,347,999	52.9
Transactions New York Clearing House . . . . .	\$37,660,686,572	52.3
Deposits in national banks . . . . .	\$1,594,200,000	53.6
Deposits in savings banks . . . . .	\$1,524,844,506	46.2
Domestic exports, value . . . . .	\$845,293,828	42.4
	1899.	
	13,620,703	
	240,000,000	
	18,100,000	
	3,632,000	
	114,566,173,191	
	11,236,846	
	\$57,368,230,771	
	\$2,450,700,000	
	\$2,230,366,954	
	\$1,203,931,222	

*Great Britain.*

Number cotton spindles . . . . .	43,750,000	4.9
Consumption cotton, bales . . . . .	3,227,000	9.0
Tons pig iron production . . . . .	7,904,214	17.7
Tons coal production . . . . .	203,408,003	11.2
Number persons engaged in all textile industries . . . . .	1,084,631	2.2 decrease.
Domestic exports, value . . . . .	\$1,281,377,000 (1898)	11.5 decrease.
Imports raw silk, pounds . . . . .	1,951,281	15.8
	45,400,000	
	(1898) 3,519,000	
	(1898) 9,305,319	
	(1898) 226,301,058	
	1,051,564 (1897)	
	\$1,134,000,000 (1898)	
	(1898) 2,268,762	

*Germany.*

Number persons employed in specified industries . . . . .	...	39.9 1882 to 1895
Domestic exports, value . . . . .	\$791,716,000	12.9 1890 to 1898
Tons pig iron production . . . . .	4,658,450	72.3 1890 to 1898
Tons coal production . . . . .	93,398,500	46.6 1890 to 1898
Imports raw silk, kilograms . . . . .	2,309,509	35.3 1890 to 1898
	\$894,062,000	
	8,029,305	
	144,283,196	
	3,125,600	

**THE TARIFF POLICY OF OUR NEW  
POSSESSIONS ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY HON. ROBERT P. PORTER**

**SPECIAL COMMISSIONER FOR THE U. S. TO CUBA AND PORTO RICO**



## THE TARIFF POLICY OF OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

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Honorable ROBERT P. PORTER, Special Commissioner for the  
United States to Cuba and Porto Rico.

The tariff policy of our new possessions must first of all be framed to fit the country and the condition of the people for which it is intended. Unless this fundamental idea is rigidly followed there will be endless complications and trouble. The economic conditions of some countries require one kind of tariff and of other countries another kind of tariff, while some countries like England, for example, are so situated that free admission of all but a few products best promotes the general welfare of the inhabitants and the prosperity of the nation. France, Germany, Russia and the United States each has an elaborate tariff covering hundreds of printed pages, and each devised with a view of protecting certain home industries. To construct a tariff of this sort and clap it around the island of Porto Rico or of Cuba or of the Philippines, would be very much like putting a steam-hammer in motion to crack a hickory nut. We had an illustration of this sort in the case of the Island of Guam, which I suppose may rightly come under the term "our new possessions," however out of place it may be when applied to Cuba. A tariff was wanted for Guam. There was no time to send for the United States tariff, and so Governor Leary, like a true American rose to the occasion and wrote one himself, which for charm of expression and simple directness far excels those more ponderous documents with which Congress is familiar. I was afterwards called upon by the navy department to revise the tariff of Guam and destroy its primitive picturesqueness. It is perhaps in better form now, but the Leary tariff answered the purpose so

long as the military or naval authorities had power of administration without appeal.

The territories which we have acquired by conquest or purchase, and the island which we have pledged ourselves to protect against foreign aggression—though distinctly repudiating sovereignty therein—cannot be exploited for the advantage of the United States. A policy of this sort which disregarded the rights of the inhabitants, would be following the bad example of Spain. It would be putting on the cast-off wearing apparel of England, for the idea of working the colonies solely for the benefit of the mother country has seen its best days with the British Government. The war of American independence did much to modify and dispel the notion that "colonies" or "possessions" could be made tributary to the parent country. The Spanish idea in its government, not only of Cuba, but of Porto Rico and the Philippines, was purely and absolutely the idea of possession, and nothing points so unmistakably to this as the manner in which the tariffs were framed and the tariff policy adapted towards those possessions. Spain was not content with a fiscal policy giving absolute freedom of trade between the mother country and the colonies, and the Spanish tariff against all foreign nations. The Spanish idea was to levy toll both coming and going. To this end, tariffs for these unhappy islands were so constructed that the products of Spain could be imported at a very low rate of duty, and the products of other countries at a rate sometimes double and even treble. A more iniquitous fiscal arrangement was never conceived. True, the products of other countries were food-stuffs and necessities for the farmer and the laborer, while the products of Spain were silks, fine linens, expensive wines and luxuries. So deep-seated was the greed of the mother country that from 75 to 80 per cent of the revenues from customs tariff were collected upon articles of food and of first necessity, while the well-to-do and rich—mostly resident Spanish citizens—enjoyed the lowest rates

of duty upon the merchandise they imported. It was this sort of tariff policy the United States found in the several territories for which we have been called upon to evolve not only a fiscal but a complete governmental policy.

The settlement of our tariff policy for Porto Rico has raised all the questions incidental to the government of these territories, excepting, of course, those involving our future relations with Cuba. It is not my intention to discuss here whether a treaty is a part of the supreme law of the land, or whether the Constitution extends itself, *ex proprio vigore*, to all territory acquired by the United States, at the moment of its acquisition. This is a fundamental question which has been thoroughly thrashed out in the recent debates of Congress, and until the Supreme Court of the United States passes upon it, the proposition that the "Constitution follows the flag" remains controverted. To one dealing only with the practical side of the question it would seem strange that we should have no other alternative but to put around these islands without any preparatory work, the Constitution and laws of the United States. There is no doubt in my mind that under the Treaty of Paris, Congress was invested with full power to legislate with respect to these islands and their inhabitants in such manner as it may deem wise, restrained only by the general spirit of our institutions. The framers of the Constitution seem to have provided for this contingency when they invested Congress with power to "dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." "Under these two powers," says Senator Foraker in a very clear exposition of this question in the current *North American Review*, "Congress is at liberty to make any provisions it may see fit to make with respect to Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands that have relation to the civil and political status of their inhabitants. It may make them citizens or withhold citizenship; it may impose equal or unequal taxation, as

compared with the rest of the United States; and it may, as there is occasion to do in this instance with respect to coffee, impose a duty upon the importation of coffee into Porto Rico for the protection of the coffee industry there, while, under the general tariff laws of the United States, at all ports of the United States, coffee is admitted free; and it may, as many of us believe, and as the bill provides—impose a duty upon products imported from the United States into Porto Rico or from Porto Rico into the United States.” If this view of the question should prove correct, and the Supreme Court so decides, the tariff policy of our new possessions must be settled in accordance with the opening proposition of this paper. If, on the other hand, the Supreme Court should decide that we have no power under the Constitution to levy duties upon products going from this country to Porto Rico or the Philippines, or to collect duty on merchandise coming from those islands to the United States, there is nothing left for me to discuss. The tariff policy of our new possessions in that case will become the tariff law of the United States, and that has been committed to other hands.

The question of our present and future fiscal relation with Cuba remains undebated, but as the trade of Cuba exceeds that of Porto Rico and the Philippines combined, and the difference of opinions as to its future is as sharply defined, the Cuban question will not lack interest when once before Congress. While the great constitutional lawyers in Congress are clinching their arguments with quotations from the framers of the Constitution, rounding their sentences with rhetoric resonant with eloquence, and keeping the presses of the government printing office busy night and day with their speeches, the Army of the United States is attending to the humdrum of every day legislation, not only in our own new possessions but in the Island of Cuba. The military are hour by hour, and day by day aided by such civilian experts as can be extemporized for this purpose,

keeping law and order, administering police irrespective of race and class, inaugurating a new judiciary, extending municipal institutions, building school houses and establishing schools, reconstructing society on a new basis, framing and promulgating tariffs, collecting and expending revenue, and performing other and equally important functions, not in the interests of the United States, but in the interests of the inhabitants of these islands. All this work has been done with precisely the same scrupulous care and surrounded by the same checks in all matters involving property interests or the receiving and disbursing of money, as our government demands in the administration of its own affairs. In each case the records are complete. If Porto Rico becomes a territory or state of the Union, her people will have a full accounting of all transactions from the day Spain relinquished responsibility of government and the United States assumed it. If Cuba becomes self-governing she will realize that for the first time in her history, she enjoyed during American occupancy, *i. e.*, from January 1, 1899, absolute industrial independence. The tariff policy which we adopted or put in force for Cuba enabled the inhabitants for the first time to purchase in the cheapest and most advantageous markets of the world. She is as free to buy of Spain as of the United States. The commodities imported from the United States pay absolutely the same rate of tariff duty as the commodities imported into Cuba from Spain and from all other countries. The tariff policy adopted for the Philippines, owing to the condition of affairs, is only temporary, but it does not in any way violate the principles underlying our established tariff policy for the territory which the military government of the United States has been called upon to administer.

The tariff policy, therefore, of our new possessions and of Cuba—the government of which we have been called upon to administer—must be more or less modified by the future political relations of these islands to the United States.

If Cuba, Porto Rico or the Philippines were to-morrow declared part and parcel of the United States, subject to our Constitution and laws, what would be the economic result? Porto Rico, around whose unhappy head has recently played all the thunder and lightning of a sharp party debate, would be least affected. From an economic point of view, the difference of absolute free trade between the United States and Porto Rico and a small rate of duty is hardly worth discussing. From a revenue standpoint, a small rate of duty for a limited period has decided advantages. In 1898 I was asked by President McKinley to frame tariffs for Porto Rico and Cuba. While in form, and as far as possible in administrative features, these tariffs were similar, the schedules of rates naturally differed. The Cuban tariff was arranged on a basis of not over 25 per cent *ad valorem*, and the tariff for Porto Rico on a basis of 15 per cent *ad valorem*. The returns for the calendar year 1899 show that the average rate of duty on all imported merchandise (dutiable and free) into Cuba was a trifle less than 20 per cent. The abnormal condition of affairs in Porto Rico—including the disastrous hurricane—makes estimates valueless. There has, however, been little or no complaint against the tariff which we framed for merchandise imported into Porto Rico. The real trouble came from the fact that Congress alone could deal with the rates of duties on the products from Porto Rico imported into the United States.

If, before adjourning in 1899, Congress had passed a simple act reducing duties or admitting free into the United States a few of the chief products of Porto Rico, the present tariff would, with a few modifications, have operated more satisfactorily than the Dingley law, no matter how much it may be reduced. The justice of this has been recognized both by President McKinley and Congress by the return of the \$2,000,000 or more of customs duties collected on Porto Rican imports into the United States during the period of our possession. Much has been said of the liberality of

Spanish policy towards Porto Rico. I do not think the fiscal policy of Spain towards this colony differed greatly from that which she adopted towards her other possessions. The Spanish tariff policy seems to have been 7 per cent for manufactures of cotton, 12 per cent for manufactures of silk, 10 per cent for manufactures of wood, 9 per cent for machinery, 2 per cent for special imports, but 20 per cent upon alimentary substances. There would seem to be two reasons for this, the first being that in a climate like Porto Rico the inhabitants can do without almost anything but food; the second that, as most of the food products were imported into Porto Rico from the United States, Spain herself took little interest in the rates of duty. Indeed, of the total amount of duties paid as above, nearly \$950,000 were paid by the United States, largely on food products. In making up the Porto Rico tariff, Spain arranged the schedules so adroitly in favor of her own interests that between the goods placed at a high rate of duty coming from countries other than Spain, and the commodities placed at a low rate of duty, or on the free list, when imported into Porto Rico from Spain, she almost escaped the payment of duty. Spain, in fact, furnished over 40 per cent in value of the imports into Porto Rico, upon which were paid less than 4 per cent of the customs collected; the United States furnished 21 per cent of the value of the imports, upon which were paid 38 per cent of the customs collected. The aim was at once to put an end to this condition of affairs, and to this end duties on articles of food and of general consumption were reduced as much as possible or put upon the free list. It must be apparent to any intelligent person who has followed the Porto Rico debate that there is no economic or fiscal issue. The President's first proposition of absolute reciprocity of trade would have been a simple solution of the question if the machinery for internal and local revenue could have been put in motion simultaneously to the abolition of tariff duties. The

plan to give the President a free hand in the matter and authorizing him to reduce the duty on some Porto Rico products imported into the United States and make others free, and to continue in force in the island a tariff for revenue suitable to the wants of the island, would have perhaps been an even more practical way out of the dilemma. The opposition, however, wanted to obscure the real issue and strengthen the anti-expansion cause, by the cry that the President's proposal for free trade with poor Porto Rico had been ruthlessly turned down in the interests of sugar and tobacco trusts. Porto Rico needs revenue, and the simplest and least onerous method of raising it is by a tariff for revenue. The Dingley law with 85 per cent off or 75 per cent off will probably work satisfactorily as a lazy man's tariff. It will harm no industry and can foster no trust. A better way would have been to frame a simple special tariff arrangement between Porto Rico and the United States, in which our food products should be imported free of duty into Porto Rico, and the sugar, tobacco, coffee, fruit, etc., of Porto Rico should be admitted free of duty into the United States. If Congress has the power to deal absolutely with the question—and I believe it has—it might just as well deal with it in the first place effectually. The limited population and productive capacity of the island makes it a small factor in the industrial trade and affairs of the United States. For this reason the principal consideration should be—and, so far as the present administration is concerned, has been—the general welfare of the island itself.

In the Philippines other and more far reaching questions confront us, and it is this issue we have in reality been debating while seemingly discussing schedules of the Porto Rico tariff. In short, our power in Porto Rico is the measure of our power in the Philippines. However indifferently we may view the decision as to the rates of duty to be established between Porto Rico and the United States, the question of our trade relations with the Philippines is far more compli-

cated. It would seem to be of the highest importance both to American labor and industry, and to our future trade relations with the Far East, that Congress shall at all times have power to deal with it as it sees fit. However much the spirit of our institutions may vivify the population of these islands—even to ultimately preparing them for citizenship—it must be admitted that the letter of the Constitution, if abruptly applied, would destroy. For this reason the Republican party has wisely made the fight for a free hand in laying out our commercial policy in the Philippines. Exactly what that policy will be it is impossible to say at this moment, but it will probably be shaped along the same lines as that of Cuba. By this I do not mean that the tariffs will be similar, but the general principles upon which they are framed will be followed. The Cuban tariff was framed especially with a view to the present needs of Cuba. In the same way the Philippine tariff policy should be one that will give sufficient revenue and at the same time not interfere with the "open door" policy which American diplomacy has established in the East. The Dingley tariff law around the Philippines might prove fatal to our growing China and Japan trade and bring about innumerable trade complications. Without entering upon the detail of our tariff policy for the Philippines it must be, first of all, a flexible policy, one that can be changed from time to time by Congress as trade conditions require it. This is apparent at the very threshold of the question. Geographical, climatic and ethnological reasons demand a separate treatment of this territory for some time to come. The American people, practical as they are, realize this, and our fiscal and governmental policy in this part of the world will be shaped in accordance with these general principles,—the spirit of our Constitution, without the letter.

Our tariff policy up to date in Cuba has been simple and has worked satisfactorily. The first tariff for Cuba was framed in much the same way as we frame our own tariff.

As special commissioner to Cuba and Porto Rico the work was assigned to me by the President soon after the signing of the protocol of peace, August, 1898. I visited Cuba, held public hearings in the principal cities and carefully noted all the testimony, petitions, statements and letters. From these data it was possible to gauge pretty accurately the wants of the people of the island. The tariff is practically a revenue measure, though in all cases where native industry asked for protection it was accorded. In no sense was the tariff framed with a view to discrimination in favor of the United States against Cuba or against any other country. There are no maximum and minimum columns in the Cuban tariff. This tariff exceeded our expectations from a revenue point of view, the receipts reaching in the aggregate, for the year 1899, fifteen million dollars. Recently, in conjunction with Collector Bliss, of Havana, and General Sanger, director of the Cuban census, I have revised the tariff which went into force January 1, 1899. The new tariff will be proclaimed by the President, June 15, 1900, and, following out the general lines of the present tariff, it will be more harmonious and easier of administration. The future tariff policy will depend so entirely upon the future status of the island that the discussion can hardly be separated. The Island of Cuba is not only the most important, from a fiscal point of view, of all these territories, but it has required the most careful and skillful treatment. The relations of the United States Government to Cuba are far more complicated than our relations with Porto Rico, though the issues are totally different. Assuming that an entirely independent and separate existence is the ultimate destiny of that island, how can it best be brought about? If it is brought about, how can Cuba maintain it without a navy? Having, at a great sacrifice of blood and treasure, evicted Spain, given Cuba her industrial independence, established a fiscal system administered by Cubans for the benefit of Cuba, there is no future Cuba without the United States as an important factor in the equa-

tion. Cuba is perfectly capable of self-government. Those who have had experience in the reconstruction work know this perfectly well. The tariff policy and the general policy toward Cuba has been a policy looking toward self-government.

There is no disposition on the part of the people of the United States to grab or appropriate Cuba in the manner recently suggested by President Cleveland's Secretary of State. In the due course of time Cuba will become a self-governing territory, but the people of that island, in my opinion, will never relinquish their alliance with the United States, however much we may want to be relieved of the burden. Political, industrial, commercial and fiscal reasons too powerful for mere sentiment to permanently overcome, create a unity of interest and purpose between Cuba and the United States that will in time bring about naturally a union which force could never accomplish. The closer this union the better for the commercial interests of both countries. The Cuban, however, has a good deal of sentiment in his make-up, and if the existing friendship and self-interest should end in annexation, it must come about by the free will of the Cuban himself. Dealing as I am with neither the political, constitutional, nor sentimental sides of these questions, but solely with the economical, it is safe to say that the trade relations of Cuba and the United States dovetail together in perfect harmony. The United States requires all the products of Cuba, and is the nearest and best market for them. Cuba can practically supply her chief wants in our markets. In this, however, the scales tip in favor of Cuba, for the first year of open markets for Cuba has not been satisfactory to United States trade, less than half the imports into Cuba during 1899 coming from the United States. This indicates that the Cuban trade must be looked after, and that it will not run in our channel without some effort on our part to supply the class of goods wanted. Free access to our markets for Cuban tobacco and sugar would be a tremendous

boon to Cuba, and would soon make the island rich and prosperous. The effect, however, on American industry would be serious and far-reaching. The American beet-sugar producer and the Louisiana sugar planters would naturally oppose it, while many would contend that free admission of Cuban cigars would cause a migration of the cigar industry from this country to Cuba. The lack of uniformity of our present sugar tariff discriminates against Cuba. She can take care of herself provided she can get into the United States free of duty, as she did under the McKinley Tariff Law, but entering here with a duty of \$1.685 per hundred pounds, against free sugar from the Sandwich Islands and from Porto Rico, and a reduced duty by reason of reciprocity treaties with the British West Indian Islands, mean the absolute ruin of the Island of Cuba. These are some of the stern facts which face Cuba, and their solution can alone be brought about by a satisfactory tariff arrangement with the United States. The Cuban should distinctly understand that there are two sides to any convention that may be brought about between the United States and Cuba. Absolute free trade involves sacrifices on our part of important sugar interests and a reconstruction of our sugar tariff; it may likewise involve great changes in our tobacco and cigar industries. It is a problem with infinite detail to work out and many knotty questions to decide and requires bold statesmanship on both sides. It need not all be done at one stroke of the pen, but by degrees; above all it should be done in proper form, for the Cuban is sensitive and can be led more easily than driven. Whatever the method and whether the result be treaty, alliance or annexation, absolute reciprocity of trade between the United States and Cuba is the only ultimate future tariff policy for the Island of Cuba.

It will be seen that each of these territories occupies a different relationship to the United States, and hence it is impossible to adapt the same tariff policy to all. The effects of free admission from these territories into the United States

would also differ. In the case of Porto Rico I think it would not materially injure any American industry, as one of the important products of Porto Rico—coffee—is now on the free list, and the quantity of sugar and tobacco produced in that island is small compared with our home consumption. Free trade with Cuba would, as we have seen, result in a modification of our revenue laws and in a migration of our sugar industry. On the other hand, if Cuba became part of the United States and the change were brought about gradually, the hardship would not be as great as some imagine. These industrial migrations are going on all the time both in agriculture and manufacture. The centre of the corn and wheat production to-day is remote from the centre of production of these products a generation ago, so with the manufacture of iron, steel and cotton goods, agricultural implements and many other industries. If Cuba can produce 2,000,000 tons per annum of sugar—and this can easily be accomplished under fair conditions—it practically means another staple industry for the United States. If American capital—and most of the capital invested in Cuban sugar plantations is American—can produce sugar at a profit for two cents per pound on the plantation in Cuba, paying precisely the same wages to labor—the capital will flow in that direction instead of in Louisiana, where the cost of production is at least three cents per pound. This applies with equal force to the production of beet-root sugar. The enterprising men now engaged in sugar production in the United States will be the first to plant their great centrals and sugar factories on Cuban soil. These are some of the problems we must discuss when the tariff relations of the United States with Cuba are finally adjusted. Similar adjustment for the Philippines, besides involving our home industries and labor, brings under consideration the trade problems of the Far East. It will thus be seen that the tariff policy of our new possessions is more than an adjustment of tariffs, and that its permanent settlement involves the reconstruction of

industries as well as of schedules. Of the value of this commerce much has been said and many statistical estimates have been given the public. Cuba, of course, comes first with a grand total of trade for the last normal year (1895) of nearly \$175,000,000. Perhaps, with allowance for smuggling and undervaluations, this total may reach \$200,000,000. Porto Rico should represent \$30,000,000, perhaps \$40,000,000 under good conditions, while the Philippines will aggregate imports and exports, say, \$75,000,000. These totals are capable of great expansion under honest and intelligent trade arrangements, when industrial conditions in the several islands resume the normal state. The aim of the United States should be to secure the large share of the imports to these markets, as to-day the largest share of these products is sold in the United States. Having been called upon to do the practical work in arranging these tariffs, and being under promise to take up the Philippine tariff when those islands resume peaceful pursuits, I hesitate to dwell too much or speak in too glowing terms of the value of this commerce to the United States. United States imports into Cuba during 1899 were distinctly disappointing—less than half the total imports. The first year of industrial freedom for that island shows that on equal terms our competitors make a good showing, while Spain retains naturally a hold that she formerly secured by discriminating duties which favored her imports. Not only must our trade with these territories be secured and maintained by vigorous competition with our commercial rivals, but to greatly enlarge it we must make sacrifices and relinquish hopes at home.

**THE NEXT STEPS IN TARIFF  
REFORM ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴**

**BY C. R. MILLER, ESQ.,  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE NEW YORK "TIMES"**



## THE NEXT STEPS IN TARIFF REFORM.

C. R. MILLER, Esq., Editor-in-Chief of New York *Times*.

What is the proposition which the advocates of tariff reform submit to the people of the United States? It is that they hear and determine the question whether the doctrine of protection is of continuing force, and, like the Monroe Doctrine, "applicable to every stage of our national existence;" or whether it is not now time, in our changed industrial conditions, that we sit down to re-examine the basis, the justification and the wisdom of that creed. They ask the American people if the maintenance of the highest protective tariff known to the nations of the earth is to be considered a permanent national policy, or whether they will not now decree a substantial reduction of such duties as shall appear to be no longer necessary to the development of any industry, and the removal altogether of certain taxes on raw material of our industries that raise the cost of production and hamper the efforts of our manufacturers to gain a foothold in foreign markets.

Times change and tariff reformers change with them. During three decades they have championed the cause of the mass of consumers against oppressive laws that bestowed the property of the citizen "upon favored individuals to aid private enterprise." They now make their plea in behalf of the American manufacturer, once the object, now the victim, of protection, whose margin of profit and of opportunity in the world's markets is sensibly diminished by two factors of cost, high wages and taxed raw materials, both peculiar to our industrial system, and of which only the latter is subject to cancellation. The advantage which low wages gives to his foreign competitor he must meet, he has

met, not by wage reductions, but by his genius for economical production, for the standard of comfort established by a high wage rate must be maintained. But the tariff policy which forbids or discourages an exchange of products with other nations and taxes him upon the very materials of his industry is, in the opinion of tariff reformers, unwise, injurious and dispensable. It hampers our industries, checks our commerce, retards the accumulation of national wealth, and diminishes the opportunity for the profitable use of capital and the regular employment of labor.

But when we are asked to indicate the next step in tariff reform we are confronted upon the one hand by a great party that fills quite the whole of the road with its imposing bulk and forbids that any step whatever in tariff reform shall be taken; while the other great party, under new leaders and devoted to other pursuits, has abandoned its ancient attachment to the cause of a tariff for revenue only. It is plain that the next step, like all the steps of the past, must be educational. The chiefs of party must be made to see the light of the new day, and the path to a broader market and richer opportunities must be brought plainly into the view of the great and small captains of industry.

The country has been amazed and made not a little ashamed by the demonstrations of devoted attachment to protection during the debate on the Porto Rican tariff. There are not many protectionists who have taken the long step that brings them near to the advanced position of the tariff reformers. But the President is one of them. It is our plain duty to give Porto Rico the benefits of free trade, said William McKinley in his last annual message. Portentous words, that to many an old-fashioned protectionist must have sounded like an apostate renunciation of the faith by the high priest himself. But the pews outdid the preacher in devotion to the outworn creed, and the Republican House and the Republican Senate have decided that free trade with little Porto Rico, our own adopted child, could not be

enacted without peril to American industries, the representatives of which converged upon Washington with the old appeals if not quite in the old numbers, to protest against the blow that threatened their ruin.

A blind and heedless devotion to protection, too, is exhibited in the strenuous opposition to the ratification of the reciprocity treaty with France, negotiated by President McKinley with the aid of some of his former fellow-workers in high tariff building. A protest against the French reciprocity treaty was recently sent out by the Association of American Knit Goods Manufacturers, in which it was declared that the treaty "aims a death blow" at the fashioned hosiery branch of the knit goods trade, and that "the protection now afforded is no more than is absolutely necessary to a fair protection to our industry." Yet I have the high protectionist authority of the Hon. Robert P. Porter for a counter-declaration, which shall be made in his own words:

"The reduction which the French treaty accords French cotton hosiery and knit goods will in no way harm American industry, because the average rate on all hosiery imported after reductions will still be  $51\frac{1}{2}$  per cent *ad valorem*; because upon the one largest class of hosiery imported from France there will still remain a duty of over 57 per cent, and lastly because upon all goods coming from Germany (whence we get nine-tenths of our imports of cotton hosiery and knit goods), and indeed from all other countries except France the average duty will still be 64.2 per cent *ad valorem*, and on some classes nearly  $71\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Protection beyond this is unrighteous."

Emotions of unusual joy fill the heart of the tariff reformer, his pulses quicken, and hope kindles anew within him at the unexpected avowal that there is a rate, even though it be  $71\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, above which protection is unrighteous. If the axe of horizontal reduction were laid in that spirit, not at the root, but at the tops of the Dingley tariff,

the earth would be strewn with the brushwood of unrighteous surplusage from many lofty schedules, and the woolen schedule that kisses the very heavens with its audacious rates of 289 per cent, 235 per cent, 195 per cent, and 184 per cent, pierces the blue vault with one lone projection of 379 94-100 per cent and carries an average impost of 86 54-100 per cent, would emerge from the visitation in a truncated and lopped-off condition that would evoke loud cries from the beneficiaries of those sinful taxes.

I shall thrash none of the old straw of the long contention between protection and free trade. If the protectionist points to our immense and growing manufacturing interests that now supply four hundred millions of our exports and says, "This we have built by our tariff," his old antagonist will only ask with due humility that some slight credit be given to the natural resources of the country and the productive genius of its people. He will not forbear, however, to invite the attention of the defender of the high-tariff policy to the influence upon our industrial development and our export trade of the most conspicuous and most deeply interesting economic phenomenon of our day, the amazing multiplication of trusts and great combinations of capital. There is the vital fact in our present commercial situation, there is the greatest creative force at work under present conditions to change the methods and shape the future of manufacturing in the United States. More potent than tariff protection, it has built up industries into which protection failed to breathe the breath of life. Whether this new industrial system be permanent or transitory we cannot say, nor can we say whether the people will conclude that its advent is for good or for evil, but beyond all question, the concentration of capital, the formation of manufacturing corporations with large resources, able to command the highest business ability, to control their business at every stage of its progress, from the source of the material to the distribution of the product, to discard antiquated processes

and install the best modern machinery—we know, I say, that this concentration eliminates waste, obviates needless duplication of effort, substitutes the economy of the large operation for the high expense ratio of the little shop, and effects a substantial lessening of the cost of production. To the reduction of cost thus effected we owe more than to our protective tariff, the immense impulse of development in our manufactures in recent years. And it is this elimination of factors of cost that has enabled our manufacturers, in spite of the high rate of wages, in spite of tariff taxes that are no longer a help, but a burden, to overleap the wall that girdles us about and send their goods out into foreign markets, where they are selling at the rate of four hundred millions a year in competition with the manufactures of Great Britain, of France, and of Germany.

What is it that has quadrupled our production of iron and steel in twenty years—increasing it from 5,000,000 tons in 1880 to 20,000,000 tons in 1899? What is it that has caused our imports of iron and steel to dwindle from \$53,000,000 in 1891 to \$12,000,000 in 1899?

Was it the protective tariff? Seek the answer along that busy highway of lake and rail transportation that connects the Michigan ore beds with the Pittsburg furnaces and rolling mills, or in the Birmingham district, where the coal mines, the coke ovens, the ore beds, and the furnaces are so closely associated that almost the entire transportation charge of the operating companies is for switching engines. Nature in the South and the art of man in the North have reduced the cost of production to its lowest terms. It would be good for the soul of a protectionist who doubts the ability of the American manufacturer to take care of himself to study with care the wonderful array of labor saving and cost saving devices that has been created by the great corporations that convert the ore of Michigan into iron and steel near the coal fields of Western Pennsylvania. Their chain of control is unbroken—the mines, the steam shovels that lift the ore,

the cars, the very railroads, sometimes; the lake steamers, the docks, the smelters and converters, the rolling mills and steelworks, are theirs. No middleman's profit lessens their own, and from the beginning to the end of the chain, economic gain is skillfully secured, arising, says Mr. Taussig, "mainly from consistent planning of every stage, the nice intercalation of operations, the sweeping introduction from end to end of expensive and rapid-working machinery, continuously supplied under homogeneous administration with the huge quantities of material which alone make possible effective and economical utilization of the great plant."

If it is protection that has swelled our production of pig iron 422 per cent from two and one-half million tons in 1872 to eleven and three-quarter million tons in 1898, why is it that almost the entire increase, as Mr. Taussig points out, has been west of the Alleghanies or in the Birmingham region, the Middle States lying east of the Alleghanies, where the shelter of a protective tariff was most essential, and likely to be most stimulating, showing an increase of barely two hundred thousand tons? I asked an iron master the other day, a very large producer, if his business any longer needed the protection of \$4.00 a ton on pig iron. "If it did," he replied, "I should not be now on my way to Europe to sell iron in England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy." Whatever argument may be made to show that without the favor and encouragement of protective duties capitalists would never have ventured their money in the great plants, transportation facilities, and costly machinery that have produced these results, the truth is plain that our iron trade is now independent of the tariff. It can stand alone, and the business of iron and steel production is industrially fundamental. There is no large manufacturing business in which a low price of iron and steel is not reflected in reduced cost of production. I am speaking, of course, of normal trade conditions, not of the extraordinary condition that has

prevailed for some months past in which an iron and steel famine, due to an unusual volume of orders has had the effect of doubling prices.

I now wish to adduce further evidence of important industrial growth in the United States independent of the tariff, yes, in spite of the obstacles it opposes. The great increase in our exports of manufactures in recent years has resulted from two conditions, large production and low prices. In the first place, we have had surplus goods to sell; in the second place, our prices were satisfactory to the foreign buyer. Why were our industries so productive, why were prices so low?

Again the stern finger of fact points to the concentration of capital and ability as the chief cause of both phenomena. Concentration increases capacity and diminishes cost. An oversupply of the home market and an overflow into the foreign market follow necessarily. Our exports of manufactures in the fiscal year ending 1899 reached the unprecedented total of \$338,667,794. Of this export of manufactures three-fourths in value were the products of industries dominated or controlled by trusts and combinations of capital. They tell us that it is the Dingley tariff that has raised our exports of manufactures to this great figure, amounting in the last fiscal year to 28.13 per cent of our entire export trade. Why not look the facts in the face? The tariff may glut the home market, but the tariff does not make low prices—there are no economies in it. It is saving of cost that makes the price, and the price makes the market.

Take another point of view. How many years is it since we began to congratulate ourselves upon the sudden prominence of manufactures in our tables of exports? Only during the last four years, and those are the years that have witnessed the formation of nearly all the trusts and combinations, the certificates of corporation of five-sixths of which bear a date later than 1895. Manufactured exports increased from \$126,000,000 in 1875 to \$183,000,000 in 1895—twenty

years to gain fifty-seven millions. For the five succeeding fiscal years the figures are: 1896, \$228,571,178; 1897, \$277,285,591; 1898, \$290,697,354; 1899, \$338,675,558; and for the current year ending June 30 next \$400,000,000, according to the estimates—five years to gain \$172,000,000. The trusts and the Dingley tariff came hand in hand, of like age, and devoted to like pursuits—the promotion of our productive industries.

An impartial world will judge which of the two has been the more effective and influential in doubling our exports of manufactured merchandise in four years. But it is a barren futility to point out these conditions unless we are willing to read what they teach and profit by the lesson. It is of no avail to lay stress upon the significant coincidence between the sudden growth of our export of manufactures since 1895 and the sudden multiplication of trusts and combinations in the same period, nor does it profit us to adduce that other highly significant piece of testimony, the fact that three-quarters of these exports are the products of industries under the dominance of associations of capital, unless we heed the answer to the next question. What do these things mean?

They mean that we have entered upon a new period in our industrial history, and that new economic conditions must be recognized in our laws and in our trade customs. Mr. Richard Olney in his striking and philosophical article on "The Growth of Our Foreign Policy" says that prior to the late Spanish war there were two distinguishing manifestations of our policy toward other countries: "One of them was the Monroe Doctrine, so called, directly affecting our relations with foreign powers. The other was a high protective tariff aimed at sequestering the home market for the benefit of home industries and, though legally speaking of merely domestic concern, in practical results operating as the most effectual of obstacles to intercourse with foreign peoples."

Out of this condition of aloofness and sequestration we have emerged so abruptly that few of our lawmakers and not many of our people have been able to adjust their thinking to the large requirements of the new condition. We have come suddenly into full relations with the world and have not had time to put aside our homespun manners or don clothing fit for such grand company. We are giving a lawn party but have forgotten to take down the sign "Keep Off the Grass."

Wherever in these years of trade expansion we have sold manufactured goods in other markets, we have displaced a foreign competitor, either one actually in possession or one seeking to take possession. The weapon with which we have overcome him is low prices. Quality and other things being equal, the lowest price commands the market. Our manufacturers have been able to make a low price through labor-saving inventions and reductions in cost effected by concentration of industrial forces. But what are our foreign competitors going to do, the manufacturers of England, France and Germany, whom we have robbed of a part of their market? Believe me, they will not give up the fight, they will do something to regain the lost ground. And on what they do hangs immediately the prosperity of our export trade in manufactures, and next the fate of our Dingley tariff. The foreign manufacturers will fight us with our own weapons—low prices. Skillful methods and a better understanding of the wants of their customers in the East, in Africa, and in South America, will serve them to some extent, but in the broad sense nothing will help them to reconquer the lost territory but the ability to undersell us. It is not for us to inquire by what economics the foreign manufacturer will command this ability. It is vastly more important for us to take thought about our own condition. Baffled by our old competitors using the arm of low prices to which they have long been accustomed, and by which they have, until recent years, kept us altogether out of many

fields, what shall we do? There is but one resource—we must make lower prices, we must undersell our competitors or lose the market. But how can we reduce prices?

The trusts and combinations have well nigh exhausted the resources of boundless capital, of human skill, and business ability in saving the last fraction of a cent of cost at every stage of every process they control. Their peculiar relations with railroads have enabled them to command the lowest living rates for transportation of their products to the seaboard. You cannot reduce an irreducible minimum. There are three other possible sources from which the potentiality of lower prices may be gained. They are, first, the pay roll—that is wages; second, the profits of capital, and third, the cost of material. The American manufacturer is most reluctant to seek to make himself whole at the cost of his men. He knows that wages are higher in this country than in any other in the world. He is painfully aware of the immense advantage that low wages, pauper labor, as we call it, confer upon his foreign competitor. But he knows, too, that well paid labor and a high standard of comfort for workingmen make for good citizenship and increase the demand for consumption in our home market. A reduction of wages is the last resource against business loss and then only as the alternative to shutting down the works.

But there is the profit account. I need make no argument to convince you that the manufacturer will turn with no great gayety of heart to the expedient of reducing his own dividends. The changeless principles of human nature and the powerful instinct of self-preservation stand opposed to that so long as any other way is open. There is another way, the third resource—reduction in the cost of material.

In that anxious moment of his quest for relief, there rises upon the vision of the hard-beset American manufacturer the towering heights of the Dingley schedules, not glory crowned, not glistening in the sunlight of prosperity, not singing Memnonian psalm tunes of cheer in his complacent ears,

but beetling, black, disastrous; obstacles to his progress, the menace of his ruin. God help the protective tariff when the American manufacturer shall confront it in that terrible mood. But as I wished to make the suggestion of the remedy follow immediately upon the diagnosis of the disease, I have omitted one stage in this process of economic development—the dark and saddening stage of industrial depression, waste of capital, stagnation, and hard times that follow inevitably upon the loss of a market and the cessation of a demand. When our manufacturers begin to find themselves in turn displaced in their new-found foreign markets by cheaper goods made in Germany and elsewhere, they will not at once go to Washington to get the tariff reduced. Hope springs eternal, and hoping for a favorable turn, they will continue to run their mills on full time and to pile up unsold goods in the warehouses. Overproduction has one inevitable result—business loss. Let any man with the material of the computation at his command attempt to picture forth the condition of trade stagnation, financial depression, contraction of credits, and business disaster that would ensue upon the cutting off at the seaboard of any considerable part of the annual outflow of four hundred millions of our manufactured goods.

Through this stage of industrial gloom we must pass in the nature of things before our producers come to understand what has hurt them, what hampers them, and puts them at a disadvantage in the struggle for the possession of the foreign market. Then, at length, when the interests that once demanded protection and made the tariff shall appear imploring relief from its burdens and asking for freedom to buy where they must sell, in the broad markets of the world, then we shall be ready for the next step in tariff reform, and it will be quickly taken.

If apprehension is expressed that industries laboriously built up by the favor of protection until they have come to possess the semblance of a vested right to a duty approach-

ing or exceeding the unrighteous level of 71 per cent will be ruined by a free trade foray on the tariff, I reply that no uneasiness need be felt. The influence of the protectionist sentiment is still too powerful at Washington over both parties to permit any abrupt and ruthless demolition of the tariff shelter. The danger is indeed of a too great reluctance, of a reform too deliberate in its movement. Against reductions demanded for the support of manufacturing interests that have shown energy and capacity for development, that have made them important contributors to the national wealth the plea in behalf of imbecile helplessness will not and should not avail. It is protection that is now demanded, protection for the American manufacturer against oppressive conditions that threaten his exclusion from the foreign market, upon which his prosperity depends; protection for the American workingman against the reduction of his wages, a calamity that will surely befall him if it be not averted by provisions made in other ways for the manufacturer's relief. How can the experienced protectionist campaigner, who, though grizzled, bronzed and scarred, has within his bosom a heart that beats warmly for our struggling industries and for the American wage-earner, how can he resist the insistent appeal of his own protégés for needed help? The growth of our manufactured exports, whatever it may argue for the past of protection, destroys the argument for its future, for it demonstrates that we have established for the products of our industries a parity of price with foreign products. We are equals, and an equal demands no favors.

He has the right, however, to demand, and he will insist that his friends do not wantonly hamper him in his contests. The American manufacturer must have for his own protection, in his struggle with foreign competitors, the freedom to buy the materials of his industry, not only in the cheapest market without artificial additions to cost, but he must have perfect freedom to choose his market. The skillful merchant

is equipped with modern facilities which enable him to know from hour to hour the quotations in all the great markets of the world. He might as well be without the facilities if he cannot have freedom to use for his gain the information they bring him.

Those schedules of the tariff that put an added cost upon crude articles entering into the processes of manufacture, and on articles partly manufactured, that are the raw materials of other manufactures which give profitable employment to labor, are the lamb of the sacrifice. Upon them the manufacturer is going to ask that the hand of the reviser be laid. The people will ask somewhat loudly that it be laid also upon every duty in any schedule giving protection to a greedy trust or combination of which advantage is taken unduly to raise prices.

There need be no fear about the revenue. That old cry has lost its potency since the business of the country has demonstrated its capacity to yield three hundred millions of internal revenue, a tribute which it could increase without complaining of the burden; while the judicious reduction of the tariff schedules to the revenue point would provide the treasury with abundant income from customs derived from luxuries and those classes of imports upon which a just system of taxation permits a moderate impost.

But the first step, the step immediately before us, is a completion of the educational process. The manufacturer will finish his education before the statesman and the politician are out of the primary class. Hard necessity will be his teacher, and the pupil will learn with a surprising rapidity when his attention has been once fixed upon the instructive page. Some precocious scholars are even now ready for graduation.



## **APPENDIX.**



FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
American Academy of Political and  
Social Science.

---

"CORPORATIONS AND PUBLIC WELFARE."

The success of the Third Annual Meeting of the Academy, at which was discussed: "The Foreign Policy of the United States, Political and Commercial," placed a heavy responsibility on the Committee to make the Fourth Annual Meeting equal its predecessor, both in importance and interest. The plan of selecting a subject which is in the foreground of public discussion has so fully justified itself that it is unnecessary to comment on the selection of the topic for this year's meeting. Throughout the country the growing influence of corporations on industrial and political life is being discussed and made the issue of local and national political campaigns. It is, therefore, of the very greatest importance to the continued stability of our institutions that the judgment of the people on these fundamental questions should be formed after the most thorough presentation of facts without party bias or personal interest. It is this function which the Academy is called upon to perform. With our large membership, the material presented and the opinions expressed at our Annual Meetings reach a far wider audience than is usually influenced by similar gatherings of other organizations. The plan of publishing the proceedings in full at the lowest possible cost adds greatly to the value of these meetings and to their influence in the formation of public opinion.

The Fourth Annual Meeting included four sessions, held on the afternoon and evening of Thursday, April 19, and Friday, April 20. Thursday afternoon, April 19, was devoted to a discussion of "The Control of Public-Service-Corporations." Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, presided and presented the opening paper on "The Possibilities and Limitations of Municipal Control." Hon. Bird S. Coler, Comptroller of New York city, gave an address on "The Control of Public Service Corporations. Financial Control—Capitalization;" Professor John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, on "Difficulties of Control as Illustrated in the History of Gas Companies;" Dr. Frederic W. Speirs, of Philadelphia, on "Regulation of Cost and Quality of Service as Illustrated by Street Railway Companies."

The session of Thursday evening was devoted to the Annual Address, which was delivered by the Hon. William Lindsay, United States Senator from Kentucky, on "The Influence of Corporations on Political Life." Professor S. M. Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania, Vice-President of the Academy, was in the Chair.

Before introducing the speaker, Professor Lindsay commented on the growth of the Academy. He called attention to the fact that the last report of the Board of Directors of the Academy presented at the Annual Business meeting in January showed that the Academy was in a prosperous condition.

"Twenty-three hundred members are on our rolls, and we close the last fiscal year with a surplus of \$1,800 in the Treasury. Bulletin No. 12 (new series) has been sent to members of the Academy and contains the audited statement of the Treasurer. The general report of the Directors on the work of the Academy has not yet been printed. There has been no diminution in quantity nor quality of the publications of the Academy. The fourteen volumes of the ANNALS with their supplements constitute the best single source of

information now available in English for students of economics, sociology and politics. Libraries, study clubs and reading circles are coming more and more to realize this fact.

"With the increasing perplexities of our political, social, and economic problems the demands upon the Academy are sure to increase. Our responsibility for educational work based on broad scholarship and wide social sympathies must also increase. Each member may well be proud of an organization so well grounded in social service as the Academy after a single decade of existence, but each should also realize that all that has been accomplished is not the result of the efforts of any one leader or small group of men, but of the combined efforts of hundreds of our members, who are at all times loyal in their support and in their personal endeavors to bring the work of the Academy to the attention of those whom it may interest and benefit.

"The Committee on Meetings met with no little difficulty in deciding upon the orator of this occasion. The topic of the Annual Address: 'The Influence of Corporations on Political Life,' demanded that we should secure for its adequate and impartial treatment the services of one who neither owned nor was owned by a corporation, and furthermore one who by legal training and large experience in public life could speak from close observation and experience. We know that you will all agree with us that no happier embodiment of all of these requisites could be presented than in the person of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Hon. William Lindsay, whom I now have the pleasure of introducing."

After the meeting a reception was tendered to Senator Lindsay and other guests of the Academy.

On Friday morning, April 20, the members of the Academy and guests visited the various departments of the University of Pennsylvania. Arrangements had been made to conduct the party through the various buildings. At one o'clock luncheon was served at the Manufacturers' Club,

at which a considerable number of our members were present, and an opportunity offered for an informal discussion of many matters of Academy interest.

The third session, on Friday afternoon, April 20, was devoted to the subject of "Combination of Capital as a Factor in Industrial Progress." In the absence of the presiding officer, the Hon. Thomas W. Phillips, First Vice-Chairman of United States Industrial Commission, Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, consented at short notice, to take Mr. Phillips' place. The opening address was delivered by the Hon. James B. Dill, of New York City, on "Industrials as Investments for Small Capital." Hon. John Wanamaker spoke effectively on "The Evolution of Mercantile Business," and William H. Baldwin, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad, on "The Interest of Labor in the Economies of Railroad Consolidation."

The final session was held on Friday evening, April 20, at 8 p. m., in the New Century Drawing Room, Charles Custis Harrison, LL. D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, in the chair. The general subject of the session was "The Future of Protection." The addresses delivered were by the Hon. Nelson W. Aldrich, United States Senator from Rhode Island, on "The Industrial Ascendency of the United States;" Hon. Robert P. Porter on "The Tariff Policy of Our New Possessions," and Charles R. Miller, Editor-in-Chief of the *New York Times*, on "The Next Steps in Tariff Reform." At the close of the meeting the Manufacturers' Club tendered a reception to the speakers of the Academy, to which all members were invited.

It will thus be seen that in addition to the scientific sessions, ample opportunity was given for the members of the Academy to become acquainted with one another, and your committee feels that this meeting has contributed considerably to the development of a distinctive Academy spirit which is certain to be productive of great good.

We wish to take this opportunity to express to the Provost

and authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, and to the President and Directors of the Manufacturers' Club, the sincere appreciation of the Academy for their hearty co-operation in the arrangements for the meeting.

The expenses of the meeting, which were beyond what the treasury of the Academy could bear, were defrayed in large part by previous arrangements for the sale to business men and corporations of large numbers of the volume containing the proceedings. To all those who have so generously come to the support of the Academy your Committee on Meetings desires to express its sincere thanks.

In conclusion, your Committee desires to record the other scientific sessions of the Academy held during the interval between the third and fourth annual meetings, as follows:

October 25, 1899, Sixtieth Scientific Session, Mr. John H. Converse in the chair.

*Addresses.*—Hon. Frederic Emery, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, State Department, Washington, D. C., on "International Rivalry in Trade;" Hon. John A. Cockburn, Agent-General in London and formerly Premier of South Australia, on "Recent Extension of the Sphere of State Activity;" Hon. W. Pember Reeves, Agent-General of New Zealand, on "Arbitration in Labor Disputes."

December 14, 1899, Sixty-first Scientific Session, tenth anniversary meeting, Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., in the chair.

*Subject.*—"The Economic, Political and Social Movements of the Past Decade."

*Addresses.*—Professor R. T. Ely, Wisconsin University, on "Progress in Economic Theory and Instruction in Universities during the Past Ten Years;" Henry Jones Ford, Esq., Pittsburg, on "The Political Movements of a Decade;" Dr. F. W. Speirs, Philadelphia, on "Social Movements of a Decade."

January 11, 1900, Sixty-second Scientific Session, Professor L. S. Rowe in the chair.

*Addresses.*—Hon. Frederick W. Holls, member of the Peace Conference at the Hague, and Secretary of the American Delegation, on "The World's Progress Towards Peace as Illustrated by the Conference at the Hague;" Professor John Bach McMaster, University of Pennsylvania, on "Some American Experiments in Arbitration;" Russell Duane, Esq., on "Legal Aspects of Arbitration."

The thanks of your Committee on Meetings, and through it those of the Academy, are due and hereby expressed to the speakers who, at our various meetings throughout the year, have given so generously of their time and services without compensation; also to the following members of the Ladies' Reception Committee, who have added so much to the social features of our meetings: Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison (chairman), Mrs. De Forest Willard (vice-chairman), Mrs. John H. Converse, Mrs. Stephen W. Dana, Mrs. Eugene Ellicott, Mrs. Roland Post Falkner, Mrs. Adam H. Fetterolf, Mrs. William A. Lamberton, Miss Jessica England Lindsay, Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Mrs. John Bach McMaster, Mrs. Joseph P. Mumford, Mrs. Edward M. Paxson, Mrs. William W. Porter, Mrs. Henry Rogers Seager, Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, Miss Susan P. Wharton, Mrs. Talcott Williams, Mrs. Owen Wister, Mrs. Clinton Rogers Woodruff; and finally, in many special ways, to Dr. Charles Custis Harrison and to Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., for their assistance in carrying on the work of this Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

S. M. LINDSAY,  
*Chairman.*

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A documentary perspective of the causes of the war  
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## PREFACE.

The universal interest in the affairs of the South African Republic is responsible for the idea that a selection of documents illustrative of the South African controversy will be appreciated by American readers. The documents which are here reprinted are by no means unobtainable; but, to the general reader, they have been hitherto quite inaccessible. Only the largest public libraries have the proper sources of information, and even with these books at hand the student has been forced to delve in a mass of irrelevant material for the hidden object of his desire.

The present compilation has been made in the hope of meeting the immediate demands of the public. To avoid cumbersomeness, many important documents have necessarily been omitted; yet as far as possible, the editors have given a complete series of documents. The arrangement is partly chronological, and we hope altogether logical. Commencing with the London Convention of 1884, which defines the status of the South African Republic in its relations with Great Britain, we follow with the revised Constitution of 1889, and its complementary law of June 23, 1890, which granted representation in a second Volksraad to burghers of two years' standing. The latest legislation concerning the right of franchise is given in the enactment of July, 1899. This law, together with negotiations looking toward further concessions to the Uitlander population forms the subject of our third chapter. No agreement having been reached, and numerous complications having arisen, conspicuously the movements of British troops, the Ultimatum of President Kruger on October 9, precipitated a state of war.

In presenting this Ultimatum President Kruger knew that the Republic would not have to fight alone, but that there would be practically a war of the South African Dutch

against the English. The declaration of the Orange Free State to Great Britain will therefore be of interest as expressing the grounds of sympathy between the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, and the latter's view of the *causa belli*. Lastly we add the constitution of the Orange Free State that the political status of the two republics may be appreciated by comparison of their constitutions.

The documents have been compiled from the *Codex van de Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*. Gröningen, 1894; *The Political Laws of the South African Republic*. London and Cape Town, 1896; and *the State Papers of Great Britain*, London, 1884-99.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1900.

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## CHAPTER I.

CONVENTION OF LONDON, *February 27, 1884.*

*A Convention Between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the South African Republic.*

WHEREAS, The Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, Superintendent of Education, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved, and that the southwestern boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto; and whereas, Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration: Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared, that the following articles of a new Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honorable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on behalf of the Transvaal State (which shall hereinafter be called the South African Republic) by the above named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes

Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substituted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3rd August 1881; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

#### ARTICLES.

##### ARTICLE I, II.

(Articles I and II relate entirely to the settlement of the boundary lines of the Republic.)

##### ARTICLE III.

If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions analogous to those of a Consular officer, he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

##### ARTICLE IV.

The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

ARTICLE V.

The South African Republic will be liable for any balance which may still remain due of the debts for which it was liable at the date of Annexation, to wit, the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan, and the Orphan Chamber Debt, which debts shall be a first charge upon the revenues of the Republic. The South African Republic will moreover be liable to Her Majesty's Government for £250,000, which will be a second charge upon the revenues of the Republic.

ARTICLE VI.

The debt due as aforesaid by the South African Republic to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. from the date of the ratification of this Convention, and shall be repayable by a payment for interest and Sinking Fund of six pounds and nine pence per £100 per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and nine pence per £100 shall be payable half yearly, in British currency, at the close of each half year from the date of such ratification: *Provided always*, That the South African Republic shall be at liberty at the close of any half-year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. on the debt as standing under the Convention of Pretoria shall as heretofore be paid to the date of the ratification of this Convention.

ARTICLE VII.

All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12th April 1877. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer

any molestation by reason of his loyalty; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

ARTICLE VIII.

The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

ARTICLE IX.

There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

ARTICLE X.

The British Officer appointed to reside in the South African Republic will receive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's Forces as have died in the Transvaal; and if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

ARTICLE XI.

All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article I, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such

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grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

ARTICLE XII.

The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognized.

ARTICLE XIII.

Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article IV of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of Her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South

African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

#### ARTICLE XV.

All persons, other than natives, who establish their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877, and the 8th August 1881, and who within twelve months after such last mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's Forces.

ARTICLE XVII.

All debts contracted between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881 will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

ARTICLE XVIII.

No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

ARTICLE XIX.

The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions, (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations, (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law, and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

ARTICLE XX.

This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months

after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February 1884.

[Signed]	HERCULES ROBINSON,
[Signed]	S. J. P. KRUGER,
[Signed]	S. J. DU TOIT,
[Signed]	N. J. SMIT.

#### RATIFICATION BY VOLKSRAAD.

*August 8, 1884.*

The Convention was ratified on August 8, 1884 by the Volksraad in a resolution as follows: "The Volksraad having considered the new Convention concluded between its deputation and the British Government at London on 27th February 1884, as likewise the negotiations between the contracting parties, which resulted in the said Convention, approves of the standpoint taken by its deputation that a settlement based upon the principle of the Sand River Convention can alone fully satisfy the burghers of the Republic. It also shares the objections set forth by the deputation against the Convention of Pretoria, as likewise their objections against the Convention of London on the following points:—

"1st. The settlement of the boundary, especially on the western border of the Republic, in which the deputation eventually acquiesced only under the express conditions with which the Raad agree.

"2nd. The right of veto reserved to the British Crown upon treaties to be concluded by the Republic with foreign powers; and

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"3rd. The settlement of the debt. Seeing, however, that in the said Convention of London considerable advantages are secured to the Republic, especially in the restoration of the country's independence,

*"Resolves,* With acknowledgment of the generosity of Her Britannic Majesty, to ratify, as it hereby does, the said Convention of London."

## CHAPTER II.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

ARTICLE 1.—This State shall bear the name of the South African Republic.

ARTICLE 2.—The form of government of this State shall be that of a republic.

ARTICLE 3.—It desires to be recognized and respected by the civilized world as an independent and free people.

ARTICLE 4.—The people seek for no extension of territory, and desire it only in accordance with just principles, when the interest of the Republic makes such extension desirable.

ARTICLE 5.—The people desire to retain and maintain their territory in South Africa unimpaired. The boundaries thereof are fixed by proclamation.

ARTICLE 6.—Its territory is open for every foreigner who obeys the laws of this Republic. All who are within the territory of this Republic have equal claims to protection of person and property.

ARTICLE 7.—The land or farms situate in this territory which have not yet been given out, are declared to be the property of the State.

ARTICLE 8.—The people claim the utmost social freedom, and expect the result from the maintenance of their religious belief, from the observance of their obligations, from submission to law, order and right, and the maintenance of the same.

The people permit the spread of the Gospel among the heathen under fixed precautions against deceit or misleading.

ARTICLE 9.—The people will not allow any equalization of the coloured inhabitants with the white.

ARTICLE 10.—The people will not suffer any slave trade or slavery in this Republic.

ARTICLE 11.—The people reserve to themselves the pro-

tection and defence of the independence and inviolability of the State, subject to the laws.

ARTICLE 12.—The people entrust the legislation to a Volksraad—the highest authority in the land—consisting of representatives or deputies of the people, chosen by the enfranchised burghers; but with the reservation that a period of three months shall be left to the people to enable them if they so wish to communicate to the Volksraad their verdict on a proposed law; except those laws which can suffer no delay.

ARTICLE 13.—The people charge the President with the task of proposing and executing the laws; he also brings before the Volksraad the appointments of all civil servants for ratification.

ARTICLE 14.—The people entrust the maintenance of order to the military force, the police, and other persons appointed by the law for that purpose.

ARTICLE 15.—The people place the judicial power in the hands of a Supreme Court, Circuit Court, Landrosts, Juries, and such other persons as shall be entrusted with judicial powers, and leave all these free to discharge their function according to their judgment and consciences, according to the laws of the land.

ARTICLE 16.—The people shall receive annually from the Volksraad an estimate of the general income and expenses of the State, and learn therefrom how much every man's taxes shall amount to.

ARTICLE 17.—Potchefstroom, situated on the Mooi River, shall be the capital of the Republic, and Pretoria the seat of Government.

ARTICLE 18.—All services rendered on behalf of the public are remunerated by the public.

ARTICLE 19.—Freedom of the press is granted provided the printer and publisher remain responsible for all the documents which contain defamation, insult, or attacks against any one's character.

## OF THE PROTECTION AND DEFENCE OF THE STATE.

ARTICLE 20.—The people shall only appoint as representatives in the Volksraad those who are members of a Protestant Church.

ARTICLE 21.—The people desire the growth, prosperity, and welfare of the State, and with this view provision for suitable school teachers.

ARTICLE 22.—Providing also that in time of peace precautionary measures are taken to enable the State to wage or withstand a war.

ARTICLE 23.—In case of a hostile attack from outside, everyone, without distinction, shall be held bound to lend his assistance on the promulgation of martial law.

ARTICLE 24.—No treaty or alliance with foreign powers or peoples may be ratified until the Volksraad has expressed its feelings upon the same, the treaty requiring to be ratified and passed or else cancelled according to the judgment of the Volksraad, with exception of those treaties which the Government is empowered by law or Volksraad resolution to make.

ARTICLE 25.—In case of threatening danger for the State or in time of war, the right of judging as to whether such treaty or alliance is advisable or not is left to the Commandant-General advised by the Military Council, if the commandos are in the field, and there is no time to consult the Executive Council.

OF THE VOLKSRAAD, THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY, OR THE  
LEGISLATIVE POWER.

ARTICLE 26.—The Volksraad shall be the highest authority of the country, and the legislative power.

ARTICLE 27.—No civil servants are to be representatives of the people.

ARTICLE 28.—The Volksraad shall consist of at least twelve members, who must possess the following qualifications:—

They must have attained the age of thirty years, and be born in the Republic, or have for fifteen consecutive years been burghers entitled to vote, be members of a Protestant Church, reside, and possess immovable property, in the Republic. No persons of notoriously bad character, or who have had a dishonouring sentence pronounced against them, and no uncertified or unrehabilitated insolvents shall be eligible. They may not be related to each other in the relationship of father and son or stepson. No coloured persons or bastards shall be admitted into our Assemblies. In like manner no military officer or official of the State, who draws a fixed annual or monthly salary, shall be eligible as member of the Volksraad.

ARTICLE 29.—The members of the Volksraad are elected by a majority of votes from among the electors of each district. No one shall be considered as elected who has not obtained at least sixty votes. Every one who is born in the country and has attained the age of twenty-one years, or has become naturalized, shall be a burgher qualified to vote. The members of the Volksraad are elected for the period of four years.

ARTICLE 30.—No one shall be eligible who has not received a requisition signed by at least twenty-five voters. The voters in one district are at liberty to vote for a candidate living in another district. (That is to say, they may be represented by a candidate who resides in a district other than that in which the voters reside.)

ARTICLE 31.—Every enfranchised burgher is allowed, if he wishes, to bring accusations against the President or members of the Executive Council for contravention of their duties or official crimes, and send those accusations to the President of the Volksraad, under the address; "To the Hon. President of the Volksraad," who then shall act according to his judgment of the affair.

ARTICLE 32.—The election of members for the Volksraad shall take place in the month of January or February, or in exceptional cases upon such times as shall be fixed. For each district two members shall be chosen, except the districts Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenberg, Lydenburg and Vryheid, for which three members shall be elected. Elective districts on the Gold-fields shall each elect one member. At the expiration of the second year it shall be decided by lot which half of the members shall go out; the other half shall vacate their seats at the end of the fourth year, and so on. New members of the Volksraad shall be chosen from the districts whose members fall out. Retiring members are re-eligible.

ARTICLE 33.—The Volksraad appoints, outside its members, a Secretary, to be proposed by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 34.—A Volksraad member who absents himself, and does not comply with the notice to attend, incurs a penalty of Rds. 75.

ARTICLE 35.—The reasons for a Volksraad member's non-appearance are:—

(1) Indisposition and bodily infirmity, to be proved by the member chosen or summoned, by a signed declaration of the Landrost, Commandant, or Field-Cornet of his division.

(2) Such unforeseen circumstances, being actually proved, as make it impossible for him to be present, or to remain there.

ARTICLE 36.—All objections, excuses, and notices mentioned in Articles 34 and 35 shall be sent into the President and be decided upon by the Executive Council. Provision shall be made as soon as possible to fill in the places open in consequence.

ARTICLE 37.—The members of the Volksraad shall, before taking up their official duties, be sworn by the members of the Volksraad who are present on the day of the session; their oath shall be of the nature of the following:—

"As elected member of the Volksraad of this Republic, I declare, believe, and swear solemnly, that I have neither made nor promised gifts to anyone to reach this office; that I shall be faithful in this office to the people; that I shall act in accordance with the Constitution and other laws of this country, according to the best of my knowledge and conscience, and consider only the furtherance of the happiness and welfare of the public at large."

ARTICLE 38.—The members of the Volksraad present choose their Chairman after the opening of the session, and before the annual business.

ARTICLE 39.—All deliberations shall be settled by a bare majority of the votes of the members voting.

ARTICLE 40.—The Volksraad does not separate before all matters of business which must be treated of are finished, and the session is closed by the President of the Volksraad. A member can obtain leave of absence from the Volksraad, if he is in such case as mentioned in No. 2, Article 35.

ARTICLE 41.—The members of the Volksraad doing service as such shall be free from military service, without being free from the costs which the military authorities may exact from them: they shall enjoy remuneration for the period of their stay during the cessation of their private business.

ARTICLE 42.—The meetings are held with open doors, unless the Volksraad decide that the discussions upon some proposition be taken in secret. The persons present who have no seat in the Volksraad may only speak when they answer a question of the President.

ARTICLE 43.—The President shall bring forward for discussion the proposals for laws which have come in before the Volksraad, whether the latter have been made known to the public three months before the commencement of the session, or whether the same have come in during the session of the Volksraad.

ARTICLE 44.—When the notices of laws and Government

notices to the public have not been given in time, the President shall examine with whom the blame of that delay lies. A Landrost found guilty hereof shall have a fine of Rds. 50 inflicted, and a Field-Cornet or lesser official of Rds. 25.

ARTICLE 45.—A copy of every law which has been adopted shall be sent in by the Chairman to the President for execution.

ARTICLE 46.—When a new President is appointed, the Volksraad shall depute four of its members and the Secretary to invite him to come and take his official oath in the meeting of the Volksraad.

ARTICLE 47.—On the appointment of the members of the Executive Council and the Commandant-General, the Volksraad shall give them written notice thereof, in order to enable them to take the official oath before the Volksraad at a time to be fixed.

ARTICLE 48.—The President shall annually submit a list of all officials appointed during the year for the approval or disapproval of the Volksraad.

ARTICLE 49.—In the event of the Court, contemplated by Article 8 of the Amendment of the Grondwet of 1877, declaring the State President, or the Supreme Court, contemplated by Article 115 of the Grondwet, declaring the Commandant-General or other members of the Executive unfit to occupy his or their office, the Chairman of the Volksraad, upon the receipt of the decision of such Court, shall convene the members of the Volksraad, who shall be bound to attend, in order to dismiss the official or officials found guilty; and to provide for the filling up of the vacancy or vacancies so caused.

ARTICLE 50.—The members of the Volksraad assemble in the Council Hall annually on the first Monday in May, or such other time as may be indicated in their summons, whenever the President judges it necessary that the Volksraad should come together; and daily from that time onwards at nine o'clock in the morning, so as to be at work not less than four to five hours a day. The assembly of the Volksraad shall be opened and closed with a suitable prayer.

ARTICLE 51.—The President of the Volksraad is responsible that the meetings are held according to regulations in Article 50, on neglect of which the Volksraad can fine him in 5 to 50 Rds.

ARTICLE 52.—The maintenance of order among the persons present, as mentioned in Article 42, must be entrusted to the Field-Cornet appointed to that purpose by the Landrost of the district where the session is held.

ARTICLE 53.—The Landrost shall also appoint a messenger to be at the service of the Volksraad during the meeting.

ARTICLE 54.—The Volksraad judges all contraventions of regulations fixed by the Volksraad, and committed in the hall of the Volksraad, and punishes the infringers without further appeal.

ARTICLE 55.—Notice is given by the Secretary of all fines inflicted by the Volksraad, to the Landrost under whom the persons fined reside, and the latter sees to its execution.

OF THE STATE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—THE PROPOSERS OF LAWS.

ARTICLE 56.—The executive power resides in the State President, who is responsible to the Volksraad. He is chosen by a majority of the burghers entitled to vote, and for the term of five years. He is eligible for re-election. He must have attained the age of thirty years, and need not be a burgher of the State at the time of his nomination, and must be a member of a Protestant Church, and have no dishonouring sentence pronounced against him. (By a subsequent law the President must be chosen from *among* the burghers; he *must* be a burgher. Outsiders are excluded.)

ARTICLE 57.—The President is the first or highest official of the State. All civil servants are subordinate to him; such, however, as are charged with exercise of the judicial power are left altogether free and independent in its exercise.

ARTICLE 58.—As long as the President holds his position as such he shall fill no other, nor shall he discharge any ecclesiastical office, nor carry on any business. The President cannot go outside the boundaries of the State without consent of the Volksraad. However, the Executive Council shall have the power to grant him leave to go outside the boundaries of the State upon private affairs in cases of necessity.

ARTICLE 59.—The Vice-President assumes authority in case the President is dismissed or incapable of acting, or is absent from seat of government.

ARTICLE 60.—The President shall be discharged from his post by the Volksraad after conviction of misconduct, embezzlement of public property, treachery, or other serious crimes, and be treated further according to the laws.

ARTICLE 61.—If in consequence of transgression of the Constitution or other public misdemeanors the Volksraad resolve that the President shall be brought to trial, he shall be tried before a special court composed of the members of the High Court, the President and another member of the Volksraad, while the State Attorney acts as Public Prosecutor. The accused shall be allowed to secure assistance of a lawyer at his choice.

ARTICLE 62.—The President is charged with the proposing of laws to the Volksraad, whether his own proposals or others which have come in to him from the people; he must make these proposals known to the public by means of the *Staats Courant* three months before presenting them to the Volksraad, together with all such other documents as are judged useful and necessary by him.

ARTICLE 63.—All proposals for a law sent in to the President shall, before they are published, be judged by the President and Executive Council as to whether publication is necessary or not.

ARTICLE 64.—The President submits the proposals for laws to the Volksraad, and charges the official to whose de-

partment they belong first and foremost, with their explanation and defence.

ARTICLE 65.—As soon as the President has received the notice of the Volksraad that the proposed law is adopted, he shall have that law published within two months, and after the lapse of a month, to be reckoned from the publication, he shall take measures for the execution of the same.

ARTICLE 66.—Proclamation of martial law, as intended in Article 23, shall only be made by the President with the assent of the members of the Executive Council. This proclamation must, however, take place in case of pressing danger, and the law shall then at once be put into execution; the decision with regard to the danger is left to the President and the members of the Executive Council, and is on their responsibility. The Commandant-General must be present at the consideration and decision of military affairs in the Executive Council in virtue of his office, and shall have a vote as such therein.

ARTICLE 67.—The President, with advice of the Executive Council, declares war and peace, with reference to Article 66 of the Constitution; the Government having first, if possible, summoned the Volksraad before the declaration of war. Treaties of peace require the ratification of the Volksraad, which is summoned as soon as possible for that purpose.

ARTICLE 68.—The President appoints all officials, either personally, by commission through the head officials, taking into consideration that all officials must be enfranchised burghers, or must produce good testimonials to the satisfaction of the Government, and that so far as they are charged with financial administration, must find adequate security therefor at the choice of the Government.

ARTICLE 69.—The President complies, as far as possible, with the desire of the people, as referred to in Article 21.

ARTICLE 70.—The President shall submit, yearly, at the opening of the Volksraad, estimates of general outgoings

and income, and therein indicate how to cover the deficit or apply the surplus.

ARTICLE 71.—He shall also give a report during that session of that Volksraad, of his actions during the past year, of the condition of the Republic and everything that concerns its general interest.

ARTICLE 72.—After examination of the election returns for the members of the Volksraad, sent in to the Executive Council, he shall summon that Raad, yearly, on the first Monday of May, and whenever necessity so demands.

ARTICLE 73.—He publishes in the month of March or April the names and residences of those chosen members of the Volksraad.

ARTICLE 74.—The written summons of the members of the Volksraad shall be sent to their houses three weeks before the opening of the same.

ARTICLE 75.—The President and one member of the Executive Council shall, if possible, visit the towns and villages of the Republic where Landrost's officers are, once in the year; he shall examine the state of those offices, inquire into the conduct of the officials, and on these circuits give the inhabitants during their stay an opportunity to bring before him anything they are interested in.

ARTICLE 76.—The President has the power, saving his responsibility to the Volksraad, to dismiss officials from their offices, to make provisional appointments, and to fill all open places. He reports to the first following session of the Volksraad with regard to these transactions.

ARTICLE 77.—The President signs all appointments of officials, gives them their instructions himself, or has it read and explained to them by qualified officials, administers the oath, makes them sign it, and after their appointment puts into their hands a copy of instructions.

ARTICLE 78.—The President is charged with the administration of the public service, the Postal Department and Public Works; he and the members of the Executive Coun-

cil are at the same time charged with the supervision of the powder magazines and cannon of the State.

ARTICLE 79.—Correspondence with foreign powers shall be carried on by the President and the Executive Council. The dispatches shall be signed by him and the Secretary of State.

ARTICLE 80.—The President with the Executive Council has the right to diminish or remit sentences of punishment passed for misdemeanours or crime, on recommendation of the Court that has passed the sentence, or upon petition of the person condemned, after having taken the advice of the Court thereupon.

ARTICLE 81.—Before accepting his office he shall take the following oath before the Volksraad :—

“As elected President of the Republic, I promise and swear solemnly, that I shall be faithful to the people; and that I shall act according to right and law in my office, according to the best of my knowledge and conscience without respect of persons; that I have done no one favour, nor made presents to reach this office; that I shall not accept from anyone any present or favour, if I can suppose that this present or favour should be made or done with a view of gaining from me a resolution in favour of the person who does the favour or makes the gifts; that I shall act according to the Constitution of the Republic, and intend alone the furthering of the happiness and welfare at large of its inhabitants.”

ARTICLE 82.—The President exercises his power along with the Executive Council. An Executive Council shall be joined to the President, consisting of the Commandant-General, two enfranchised burghers, a Secretary, and a Notekeeper (*notulenhouder*), who shall have an equal vote, and bear the title of members of the Executive Council. The Superintendent of Native Affairs and the Notekeeper shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Council. The President and members of the Executive Council shall have the right to sit, but not to vote, in the Volksraad. The Presi-

dent is allowed, when important affairs arise, to invite the head official to be present in the Executive Council whose department is more directly concerned with the subject to be treated of. The said head official shall then have a vote in the Executive Council, be equally responsible for the resolution taken, and sign it along with the others.

ARTICLE 83.—According to the intention of Article 82 the following shall be considered "Head Officials": The State Attorney, Treasurer, Auditor, Superintendent of Education, Orphan-Master, Registrar of Deeds, Surveyor-General, Postmaster-General, Head of the Mining Department, Chief Director of the Telegraph Service, and Chief of Public Works.

ARTICLE 84.—The President shall be Chairman of the Executive Council, and in case of an equal division of votes have a casting vote. For the ratification of sentences of death, or declarations of war, the unanimous vote of the Executive Council shall be requisite for a decision.

ARTICLE 85.—Regularly once a month, and at such other times as the President shall judge necessary, the Executive Council shall sit at his office.

ARTICLE 86.—The President with two members form a quorum.

ARTICLE 87.—All resolutions of the Executive Council and official letters of the President must, besides being signed by him, also be signed by the Secretary of State. The latter is at the same time responsible that the contents of the resolution, or the letter, is not in conflict with the existing laws.

ARTICLE 88.—The two enfranchised burghers or members of the Executive Council contemplated by Article 82 are chosen by the Volksraad for the period of three years, the Commandant-General for ten years; they must be members of a Protestant Church, have had no sentence in a criminal court to their discredit, and have reached the age of thirty years.

ARTICLE 89.—The Secretary of State is chosen also by

the Volksraad, but is appointed for the period of four years. On resignation or expiration of his term he is re-eligible. He must be a member of a Protestant Church, have had no sentence in a criminal court to his discredit, possess fixed property in the Republic, and have reached the age of thirty years.

ARTICLE 90.—Before the members of the Executive Council and the Commandant-General receive their office, they take the official oath before the Volksraad and sign the same. That oath shall be of similar contents to that of the President, as modified to the title or office of the person sworn, and that of the Commandant-General to the contents of Article 108.

ARTICLE 91.—Before the Secretary of State receives his office he takes a similar oath to the members of the Executive Council, with a small modification suitable to the nature of his office.

ARTICLE 92.—In case the Volksraad decide to give effect to the complaints mentioned in Article 31, it shall put the complaint in the hands of the State Attorney with a view to its examination. If it appears from such examination that the complaint is well founded, then the Volksraad shall send the complaint to the High Court, or the Court contemplated in Article 61, with notice of such sending to the said Attorney. This Court, which then will have to deal with the case, shall take cognizance of the case, and in the last resort pronounce sentence.

#### OF THE MILITARY FORCE AND MILITARY COUNCIL.

ARTICLE 93.—The military force consists of all the men of this Republic capable of bearing arms, and if necessary of all those of the natives within its boundaries whose chiefs are subject to it.

ARTICLE 94.—Besides the armed force of burghers t

called up in times of disturbance or war, there exists a general police and corps of artillery, for which each year a fixed sum is drawn upon the estimates.

ARTICLE 95.—The men of the white people capable of bearing arms are all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty years; and of the natives, only those which are capable of being made serviceable in the war.

ARTICLE 96.—For the sub-division of the military force the territory of this Republic is divided into field-cornetcies and districts. The dividing lines of the field-cornetcies and districts are fixed by and in a common council of the President, Commandant-General, and the adjoining Commandants and Field-Cornets; and each inhabitant shall be bound to obey the authorities of the field-cornetcy or district in which he lives.

ARTICLE 97.—The men are under the orders of the following officers, ascending in rank: Assistant Field-Cornets, Field-Cornets, Commandants, and a Commandant-General.

ARTICLE 98.—The officers are chosen by a majority of votes, viz., The Assistant Field-Cornets and Field-Cornets, by the enfranchised burghers of the wards, so also the Commandants by the enfranchised burghers of the districts, and the Commandant-General by all the enfranchised burghers of this Republic. Enfranchised burghers, according to this Article, are burghers who have reached the age of eighteen years. The ballot-boxes for the election of officers shall be attended to by the Landrosts, who shall be bound to send them up to the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall be obliged to give notice to the chosen Commandant-General of the choice which has fallen upon him.

ARTICLE 99.—Their appointments are:—The Comandant-General for ten years, the Commandants for five years, the Field-Cornets, and the Assistant Field-Cornets for three years; and on expiration of this term, they are re-eligible. The Commandant-General shall be discharged, or relieved of his post, on conviction of crimes, as mentioned in Article 60.

ARTICLE 100.—Not more than one Commandant shall be chosen for each district.

ARTICLE 101.—The military force, with the exception of the hired natives, is summoned for the maintenance of order, for commando duty on the occasion of home rebellion, and without any exception for the protection of the country, and to fight with foreign enemies.

ARTICLE 102.—The Assistant Field-Cornets and Field-Cornets are charged with the maintenance of order; the Commandants are charged with the commandos on occasion of rebellion at home; the Commandant-General with commandos for the purpose of quelling disturbance among the white population, the protection of the country, and fighting with foreign enemies, in which case the Commandant-General shall have supreme command over the whole army.

ARTICLE 103.—We must understand by

- (a) Maintenance of order: the execution of the laws, the carrying out of sentences after receiving orders, and the consideration of measures of general and local interest; also the supervision over the natives, and the repression of vagrancy and vagabondage in the field-cornetcies.
- (b) Commandos on occasion of rebellion among the natives: bringing Kaffir chiefs to their duty.
- (c) Commandos for the suppression of disorders among the white population: dispatching sufficient force to the district where disorder has broken out; and by
- (d) Defence of the country and carrying on war: carrying out martial law and taking the field at the head of the army.

ARTICLE 104.—All subordinates receive orders from the officers and officials placed above them.

ARTICLE 105.—All the officers except the Commandant-General shall be, before taking up their office, sworn by the President in accordance with Article 77. The Commandant-

General shall be sworn by the Volksraad, according to Articles 90 and 106.

ARTICLE 106.—This oath shall be of the following contents:

"I promise and swear solemnly allegiance to the people of this Republic; that I shall act in my office according to the law, right, and justice, according to the best of my knowledge and conscience, without respect of person; that I have made or promised to no one gift or favour to reach this office; that I shall receive from no one any gift or favour if I can suspect that this should be done or shown to persuade me in the duties of my office in favour of the giver or favourer; that I shall obey the commands of those placed over me according to the law, and consider only the prosperity, welfare, and independence of the country and people of this Republic."

ARTICLE 107.—The Field-Cornets shall, lawful prevention being excepted, give a report every three months to the Landrost of events among their subordinates in the wards in the past months, and as often besides that time as a report is required of them. With regard to military matters, the Field-Cornet is also obliged to report to the Commandant placed over him, besides the Landrost. If he does not comply therewith, or in case of negligence, he shall be fined in Rds. 10.

ARTICLE 108.—The Commandants send the three-monthly reports of the Field-Cornets, with the addition of their own report, besides their remarks, to the Commandant-General. The latter acts in the same way with the reports of the Commandants in sending his report to the President, and without delay these reports must be sent to the President.

ARTICLE 109.—The Field-Cornets shall keep a list of those in their wards who are liable to duty, and must draw up that list in such a way that it appears therefrom who must be summoned for the maintenance of order, so that the duties of the men may be proportionately divided amongst them.

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ARTICLE 110.—The Commandant-General sits in the Executive Council as member of the same.

ARTICLE 111.—In the field the Commandant-General has the supervision of the war ammunition of the State.

ARTICLE 112.—The Commandants and Field-Cornets comply with the commands of the Landrosts, so far as they, according to the regulation of the laws about the judicial administrative power, come into relation with the same.

ARTICLE 113.—Notice of the contravention mentioned in Article 107 is given by the officers to the Landrosts of their districts, who will have to see that the fines are called in.

ARTICLE 114.—A month after the expiration of a commando the President shall, by means of the Landrost, take care that the assigned share of the booty comes to the seriously wounded, the widows and orphans of the dead.

OF THE JUDICIAL POWER AND MAINTENANCE OF JUSTICE.

ARTICLE 115.—The people entrust the administration of justice to:

- (a) A High Court.
- (b) A Circuit Court.
- (c) The Landrosts, in their capacity as such, and such other officials as are clothed with judicial competence by the law.

The Courts give judgment as soon as possible after the close of the case.

The Chief Justice and puisne judges must be duly graduated in law (*in de rechten gepromoveerd*).

The public ministry of public prosecution rests with the State Attorney, and under his supervision with the public prosecutors of the various districts.

The members of the two first Courts are appointed for their lives.

The law regulates the manner in which the discharge shall

be granted them, either honourably or the reverse, in case of misconduct or incapacity.

ARTICLE 116.—The Landrosts are appointed by the Executive Council on every occasion on the occurrence of a vacancy. Two persons possessing the qualifications for officials according to the Grondwet are proposed to the enfranchised burghers of the district concerned, so as at the very latest within the period of two months to decide between the two such candidates by free voting, and to give written notice of the result of such voting to the Executive Council. The Landrosts must have been a year enfranchised burghers and be members of a Protestant Church, have had no criminal sentence to their discredit, and have reached the age of thirty years.

ARTICLE 117.—The Landrost of the place where the seat of Government is shall be appointed on recommendation of the Executive Council by the Volksraad. To be capable of receiving the appointment, it shall not be required to have been for any time a burgher of the State.

ARTICLE 118.—The Landrosts must at the same time duly provide security before accepting their office.

ARTICLE 119.—The jury shall be enfranchised burghers who have had no criminal sentence passed upon them to their discredit, and have reached the age of thirty years.

ARTICLE 120.—The summons of the jury must be served in such time that they have, besides the time for the journey, three free days at their disposal.

ARTICLE 121.—The persons chosen as Landrosts shall, if they intend to make objections to the choice which has fallen upon them, send in their objections to the President within the first thirty days after the choice has fallen upon them.

ARTICLE 122.—If within that time they send in no objection, they are considered to accept that office.

ARTICLE 123.—The juryman who does not comply with the summons, mentioned in Article 120, is fined in Rds. 100, unless he can allege matter of excuse as mentioned in Article 35.

ARTICLE 124.—The Landrosts, before taking their office, take the following oath before the President and members of the Executive Council:—

“I promise and swear solemnly allegiance to the people and laws of this Republic, and that I shall act in my post and office justly and equitably, without respect of persons, in accordance with the laws and according to the best of my knowledge and conscience; that I will accept present or favour from no man, if I can suppose that this has been made or done with a view to persuade me in favour of the giver or favourer in my judgment or action. Outside of my office as judge that I shall obey according to the law the commands of those placed over me, and in general only consider the maintenance of the law, justice and order, to the furtherance of the prosperity, the welfare and the independence of the land and people.”

ARTICLE 125.—The members of the jury shall take the following oath before they hold session:—

“I promise and swear solemnly to act in my office as jurymen, justly, equitably, without respect of persons, according to the best of my knowledge and conscience, and to give judgment upon the cases and accusations laid before me for judgment according to law; that I have accepted present or favour from no man from whom I can suspect that this has been given or done in order to persuade me in favour of the giver or favourer in my sentence, and forthwith to consider only the maintenance of law, right and order, to the furtherance of the prosperity and welfare of this Republic.”

ARTICLE 126.—The Field-Cornets as much as possible settle the differences between the inhabitants of their districts, and prevent the bringing of processes. For this end every one is entitled to summon for this purpose the person with whom he is at variance at a time to be fixed by the Field-Cornet. The Field-Cornet's costs shall be paid by the parties according to a tariff.

ARTICLE 127.—All sentences in civil as well as in criminal cases are delivered in public, and executed in the name of the people of the South African Republic. Punishments which can be inflicted on white criminals in this Republic are:—

1. Imprisonment;
2. Hard Labour, with or without irons, according to the nature of the case;
3. Transportation or Exile; and
4. Death.

No white man can be condemned to lashes on the body, if not expressly so fixed by law.

ARTICLE 128.—The plaintiffs in appeal shall pay, in case their appeal be found groundless or be refused, for an appeal from the sentence of the Landrost's Court 5 Rds. If it appear afterwards that this appeal is good, then that money is returned.

ARTICLE 129.—The copies of the documents filed by parties shall be made up by the clerks, and each page thereof shall have 25 lines, and each line, taking one with another, contain twelve syllables; the clerks shall charge two shillings and four pence for every page.

ARTICLE 130.—In case any one is not able to carry on a case, and nevertheless thinks he has good grounds for so doing, he shall serve a written petition to that end upon the Landrost of the Court, before which he must bring his case. That Court shall grant him the right of carrying on his case, and exempt him from the payment of law costs, provided:

- (a) He has produced a written proof from his Field-Cornet and two of his neighbors that he is not able to carry it on;
- (b) That the Court, after a preliminary examination of his demand, and after having heard the opposite party thereupon, has found that his demand may be well founded.

ARTICLE 131.—The sittings of the Courts of law shall be held: Those of the Landrosts every day from 10 a. m. to 3 p. m.

The Higher Courts according to proclamation and rules making provision therefor.

ARTICLE 132.—The clerk who without sufficient reason leaves his place unfilled, can be suspended by the Landrost, with notice to the President, from his office for a definite time, and another can be appointed in his place after the latter has taken the oath according to law.

ARTICLE 133.—The Courts of law shall, in fixing punishments, bear in mind, that as the same punishment can be lighter or heavier for one man than another, it is the intention of the legislators to punish each one equally severely for a similar transgression of the law; and that punishments may be fixed in accordance therewith.

ARTICLE 134.—The Courts of law shall try as far as possible to hasten the hearing of cases, and give judgment thereupon as soon as possible.

ARTICLE 135.—The clerk or the Landrost shall keep a register of all cases which are brought by parties before the Court, and enter this register up daily.

OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE POWER, OR THE CIVIL SERVANTS.

ARTICLE 136.—The administrative power of the home government derives its power from the Executive Council, and is under the commands of the President and the members of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 137.—It (*i. e.* the administrative power) is in the hands of such officials as are fixed by law.

ARTICLE 138.—The territory of the State is for these purposes of government divided into districts, to which belong divisions and towns or villages. Changes in the division of districts or wards take place according to Article 96.

ARTICLE 139.—Each district is governed by a Landrost,

assisted by such officials as shall be joined to him by the law. The Commandants and Field-Cornets of the division are, as far as those purposes of government are concerned, under the orders of the aforesaid civil servants.

ARTICLE 140.—District Council and town or village boards can be established where the population so desires. At the head of each district is a Landrost, who is *ex-officio* chairman of the District Council, to be chosen by the burghers of the district, consisting of as many members as there are field-cornetcies.

ARTICLE 141.—To the District Councils is entrusted the care of the public roads and other public works in the district, besides all other matters conferred on them by law.

ARTICLE 142.—With the exception of the salaries fixed by law, all costs of the district board are borne by the district itself. Yearly an estimate for that purpose composed of expenses and income is fixed by the District Council, and sent up to the Executive Council for ratification. Each year similarly account is rendered for the past civil year, which is closed by the District Council, and sent up to the Executive Council for final ratification.

The District Council shall receive the ratification of the Volksraad beforehand before the raising of any tax.

ARTICLE 143.—At the head of each town or village government recognized as such by the law stand a burgomaster and a council of six or eight members, according to the population.

All costs for the defraying of this local administration are borne by each place. Before the raising of any tax by a town or village board the ratification of the law is requisite.

For the local estimate and accounts the same rules hold good as fixed in the preceding articles for those of a district.

ARTICLE 144.—All publications are published in the *Staats Courant* and made public by the Field-Cornets in their

divisions by calling the inhabitants of those divisions together.

ARTICLE 145.—All officials are obliged to answer as soon as possible the official letters received by them, and to deal with their contents.

ARTICLE 146.—The Field-Cornet shall keep an exact register of all new inhabitants who come in their division; of all changes or removals of the inhabitants elsewhere; of all deaths taking place among them; and of all male persons who have reached the age of sixteen years.

ARTICLE 147.—All small traders who enter this territory shall not trade until they are provided with a license, which has been obtained at one of the Landrost's offices, and signed by the Landrost.

ARTICLE 148.—It shall not be permitted that newly-arrived persons should settle in any uninhabited districts in this Republic without the knowledge and permission of the Government of this State.

ARTICLE 149.—Where such is not entrusted to a town or village council, the Landrosts are charged with the duty of overseeing a town or village, together with all subordinate functions, so that everything may take place in regular order.

#### OF THE FINANCES OF THE STATE.

ARTICLE 150.—The income of the State and taxes of the inhabitants are regulated by the law.

ARTICLE 151.—All farms and grounds of the inhabitants are guaranteed by the Government as fixed property, with the right reserved to the Government to lay down a public road for the use of the inhabitants over such farms when it is demanded.

ARTICLE 152.—All who, living outside of the Republic, possess uninhabited ground or farms in this Republic shall pay for each farm as long as it is uninhabited a double tax yearly.

ARTICLE 153.—The tax for each “erf” in the towns shall be regulated by the law; and no money for water rights shall be exacted from the public.

ARTICLE 154.—All surveyed or inspected farms must on sale be conveyed within the period of six months, and the proprietary due (*heerenrecht*) be paid within the period of six months; in case of neglect to comply with above, after the promulgation of this law, the proprietary due shall be double. The ground is conveyed from the first owner.

ARTICLE 155.—The taxes to be paid by the people, where no other officials are appointed by law, are paid at the office of the Landrosts of the districts.

ARTICLE 156.—All uninspected farms which are under application must be inspected as soon as possible.

ARTICLE 157.—Every one who owns property and chooses to do so, shall, besides the inspectors, be able to make use of a surveyor, for the surveying and charting of his ground.

ARTICLE 158.—No civil servant shall have the right to defend cases before the courts of law except for himself.

ARTICLE 159.—All earlier laws and resolutions in conflict with the contents of these laws are altogether suspended.

S. J. P. KRUGER,

*President.*

C. VAN BOESCHOTEN,

*Acting Secretary of State.*

GOVERNMENT OFFICES,

PRETORIA, 19th November, 1889.

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LAW No. 4, 1891.

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPRESENTATION OF THE  
PEOPLE CONSISTING OF TWO VOLKSRAADS.

ARTICLE 1.—The legislative power shall rest with a representation of the people, which shall consist of a First Volksraad and a Second Volksraad.

ARTICLE 2.—The First Volksraad shall be the highest authority in the State, just as the Volksraad was before this law came into operation.

The First Volksraad shall be the body named the Volksraad until this law came into operation. From the period of this law coming into operation, the name of that body shall be altered from the Volksraad to the First Volksraad. The persons forming that body as members shall, however, remain the same, only they shall from the said period be named members of the First Volksraad instead of members of the Volksraad.

All laws and resolutions having reference to the Volksraad and the members thereof shall remain in force and apply to the First Volksraad and the members thereof, except in so far as a change is or shall be made by this and later laws.

ARTICLE 3.—The First and the Second Volksraad meet at least once a year.

This ordinary meeting is opened in a united session on the first Monday in the month of May, under the Presidency of the Chairman of the First Volksraad. Extraordinary meetings can be summoned by the President as often as he judges it necessary in the interest of the country.

ARTICLE 4.—The number of the members of the Second Volksraad shall be the same as of the First Volksraad. This number shall be fixed later by the First Volksraad for both Volksraads.

ARTICLE 5.—Each member of either of the two Volksraads takes the following oath on accepting his office of dignity before the Chairman :—

“As elected as member of the First (or Second) Volksraad of the representation of the people of this Republic, I declare, promise, and swear solemnly that I have neither made nor promised present to anyone to reach this honour, that I shall be faithful in this office of dignity to the people and its independence, that I shall behave according to the Constitution and other laws of this Republic, according to

the best of my knowledge and conscience, and that I shall always aim at the furtherance of the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants in general."

ARTICLE 6.—The manner of election of the members of the Second Volksraad shall be the same as that of the members of the First Volksraad.

ARTICLE 7.—The members of the Second Volksraad shall enjoy the same allowance as the members of the First Volksraad, and have the same obligations with regard to informing their electors of their laws and resolutions.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the Second Volksraad are chosen for the period of four years.

In the first ordinary session of the Second Volksraad it shall be decided by lot which members shall belong to that half which must resign already after the lapse of the first two years.

ARTICLE 9.—The members of the First Volksraad are chosen by those enfranchised burghers who have obtained the burgher right, either before this law came into operation, or thereafter by birth, and have reached the age of sixteen years.

The franchise for the First Volksraad can besides also be obtained by those who have during ten years been eligible for the Second Volksraad, by resolution of the First Volksraad, and according to rules to be fixed later by law.

ARTICLE 10.—The members of the Second Volksraad are chosen by all enfranchised burghers who have reached the age of sixteen years.

ARTICLE 11.—No one is allowed to offer himself for election for both Volksraads, or in more districts or election divisions than one at the same time.

ARTICLE 12.—The members of the Volksraad may not stand to one another in the relation of father and son or stepson.

ARTICLE 13.—No military officer or official who enjoys

a fixed yearly or monthly salary, as such, may offer himself for election as member of either Volksraad.

ARTICLE 14.—No coloured person or bastard, nor persons of public bad conduct, or those who have had a discreditable criminal sentence passed on them, nor any non-rehabilitated bankrupts or insolvents whatsoever shall be eligible as members of either Volksraad.

ARTICLE 15.—To be able to take a seat as member of the First Volksraad, he who has been lawfully chosen must be thirty years old, and member of a Protestant church, live in the Republic, have obtained fixed property there and the burgher right, either before this law came into operation, or thereafter by birth, or have obtained the franchise for the First Volksraad according to Sub-section 2 of Article 9.

ARTICLE 16.—To be able to take a seat as member of the Second Volksraad, he who has been lawfully chosen must be thirty years old, have been enfranchised burgher during the two immediately preceding years, be a member of a Protestant church, live in the Republic, and have fixed property there.

ARTICLE 17.—Each Volksraad chooses its own chairman from among its own members.

ARTICLE 18.—Each Volksraad appoints, from outside its members, its own secretary on proposal of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 19.—Each Volksraad shall have to judge if elections and the qualifications of its own members are according to law.

ARTICLE 20.—Each Volksraad shall establish its own arrangement of order, shall regulate the process of its transactions, and the power of the Chairman shall be defined by itself.

ARTICLE 21.—The President and the members of the Executive Council shall sit in both Volksraads, with right to take part in the discussions, but without a vote.

ARTICLE 22.—The quorum of both the First and the Second Volksraad shall consist of twelve members. If there is no quorum present in the Second Volksraad, its secretary shall at once give notice of the same to the First Volksraad.

ARTICLE 23.—The sessions of both Volksraads shall be held in public, unless the majority in special cases resolve to revoke the publicity.

ARTICLE 24.—Each Volksraad shall keep minutes of its transactions. It shall have these published regularly in the *Staats Courant*, except the notes of the secret sittings, which shall only be partly published with the consent of the First Volksraad.

ARTICLE 25.—Each Volksraad has the right to punish its own members for disorderly conduct. Each Volksraad has, in addition, the right to suspend a member with two-thirds of the votes given.

ARTICLE 26.—A period of three months shall be left to the people to enable those who so wish to express their judgment of a proposed law to the Volksraads, except those laws which can suffer no delay.

ARTICLE 27.—The Second Volksraad shall have the power to pass further regulations on the following subjects as is necessary, either by law or resolution:—

- (1) The department of mines.
- (2) The making and support of wagon and post roads.
- (3) The postal department.
- (4) The department of telegraphs and telephones.
- (5) The protection of inventions, samples and trade-marks.
- (6) The protection of the right of the author.
- (7) The exploitation and support of the woods and salt-pans.
- (8) The prevention and coping with contagious diseases.
- (9) The condition, the rights, and obligations of companies.
- (10) Insolvency.

- (11) Civil procedure.
- (12) Criminal procedure.
- (13) Such other subjects as the First Volksraad shall decide later by law or resolution, or the First Volksraad shall specially refer to the Second Volksraad.

ARTICLE 28.—All laws or resolutions accepted by the Second Volksraad are as soon as possible, that is to say at the outside within forty-eight hours, communicated both to the First Volksraad and to the President.

ARTICLE 29.—The President has the right, when he has received notice from the Second Volksraad of the adoption of a law or a resolution, to bring that law or resolution before the First Volksraad for consideration within fourteen days after the receipt of such notice. The President is in any case bound, after the receipt of such a notice, to communicate it to the First Volksraad within the said time.

ARTICLE 30.—If the President has not brought the law or resolution as communicated before the First Volksraad for consideration, and the First Volksraad has not on its own part thought it necessary to take said law or resolution into consideration, the President shall, unless with the advice and consent of the Executive Council he thinks it undesirable in the interests of the State, be bound to have that law or resolution published in the first succeeding Volksraad, unless within the said fourteen days the First Volksraad may be adjourned, in which case the publication in the *Staats Courant* shall take place after the lapse of eight days from the commencement of the first succeeding session of the First Volksraad.

ARTICLE 31.—The law or resolution adopted by the Second Volksraad shall have no force, unless published by the President in the *Staats Courant*.

ARTICLE 32.—The legal effect of a law or resolution published by the President in the *Staats Courant* may not be questioned, saving the right of the people to make memorials about it.

ARTICLE 33.—This law comes into operation two months after publication in the *Staats Courant*.

S. J. P. KRUGER,  
*President.*

DR. W. J. LEYDS,  
*Secretary of State.*

GOVERNMENT OFFICES,  
PRETORIA, 23rd June, 1890.

### CHAPTER III.

FULL TEXT OF THE FRANCHISE LAW. PUBLISHED JULY 26,  
1899. LAW NO. 3.

WHEREAS, It has appeared desirable to amend and amplify certain provisions of the laws with reference to naturalization and the obtaining of the full franchise; and

WHEREAS, These amendments will not permit of delay by being published three months beforehand in terms of Article 12 of the Grondwet, and as they have already been accepted by the people in principle; it is hereby enacted that:

ARTICLE 1.—Each white male stranger, who has reached the age of sixteen years, and who settles or has settled in the South African Republic with the intention of residing there, shall in future be able to obtain letters of naturalization, provided that he fulfills the following provisions and enactments—

- (a) The applicant shall produce a certificate from the Field-Cornet and the Landrost of his ward and district, countersigned by the Commandant of the district, to show that he was, during the time—required in his case—preceding the naturalization, continually registered on the Field-Cornet's list; was during this time domiciled in the South African Republic; and during this time obeyed the laws of the land and committed no crime against the independence of the South African Republic.

If the Field-Cornet and Landrost are not from their personal knowledge able to grant such certificate, they shall do so on the strength of affidavits of the applicant and two well known, fully enfranchised burghers of the ward and district, declaring that the applicant has, during the necessary period,

been domiciled in the South African Republic, and has during that time obeyed the laws of the land, and has committed no crime against the independence of the South African Republic.

If the Field-Cornet and Landrost and Commandant refuse to grant such certificate or to sign it, the applicant may appeal to the Executive Council.

If the Field-Cornet's books are destroyed or lost the applicant shall prove to the satisfaction of the State Secretary and State Attorney, by means of affidavits, that he was registered.

- (b) The applicant shall produce a sworn declaration made by himself to the effect that he has had no dishonouring sentence passed on him, and shall produce further proof of good behavior.

By dishonouring sentence shall be understood a sentence for the crimes of high treason, murder, rape, theft, fraud, perjury, or forgery.

- (c) The applicant shall produce proof that he possesses unmortgaged fixed property to the value of £150, or pays rent to the amount of £50 per annum, or draws a fixed salary or wage of £100 per annum, or makes an independent living by farming or cattle-breeding.

- (d) The person desiring to be naturalized shall, before the official granting of the letters of naturalization, take the following oath, by which he will be understood to renounce and give up all burgher rights enjoyed in and burgher duties and subjection to any State or ruler:

"I swear (or I solemnly declare that the taking of an oath is not permitted by my religion, and promise), faithfully in all righteousness, and in terms of Law No. —, of 1899, with which I declare to be acquainted, that I shall be loyal to this State, shall honour and support its inde-

pendence, shall subject myself to the Grondwet and the lawful authorities of the land, and shall in all respects conduct myself as it behooves a loyal burgher of this State. So truly help me God—— or that I solemnly promise.”

Before a person who has already been naturalized is admitted to the full franchise, he shall, when he makes application therefor, besides fulfilling the other requirements of this Law, again produce proof of fulfilment of the provisions and enactments of Sections *a*, *b* and *c*.

No person shall be entitled to or be allowed to obtain letters of naturalization or full franchise unless he has fulfilled the aforementioned provisions, with the exception of cases for which this or any other Law makes special provision.

ARTICLE 2.—Each person who comes or has come to the South African Republic to stay shall, after at least two years, and after fulfilment of the provisions of Article 1, be able to obtain letters of naturalization, and shall, at least five years after naturalization, be able to obtain the full franchise, provided that in both instances, six months before the expiration of the fixed period, he gives written notice of his intention to apply therefor to the State Secretary through the Field-Cornet and Landrost of his ward and district.

The Field-Cornet shall be bound, under pain of a fine of not more than £10 in each case of neglect, to send this notice to the State Secretary through the Landrost as soon as possible, and at the most within thirty days of the sending in thereof, for publication in the *Staats Courant* for general information, and the State Secretary shall without loss of time publish such notice three consecutive times in the *Staats Courant*.

ARTICLE 3.—Each person who comes or has come into the South African Republic to stay shall, at least seven years after sending in to the Field-Cornet a notice of his intention

to be naturalized, in accordance with the form contained in Schedule A, be able to obtain letters of naturalization with the full franchise on fulfilling the provisions of Article 1.

Such notice shall be sent by the Field-Cornet to the State Secretary and be published by him, all under the same provision and punishment as set forth in the foregoing article.

If the person desires to obtain letters of naturalization with full franchise after seven years, he shall also, at least six months before the expiration of the period, give written notice to the State Secretary, the Field-Cornet and Landrost of his ward and district.

This notice shall also be sent to the State Secretary by the Field-Cornet, and the latter shall publish it in the *Staats Courant*, all under the same provision and punishment as set forth in Article 2.

The applicant shall then, on application for the letters of naturalization with full franchise, further give proof that he has sent in the notice, in accordance with the form of Schedule A, mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, for proof of which it will be sufficient to produce a copy of the *Staats Courant* in which the notice was published.

ARTICLE 4.—Each person who has come to the South African Republic to stay before the coming into force of this Law shall, on fulfilment of the provisions of Article 1, be able to obtain letters of naturalization at least seven years after his coming into the country.

In case the applicant is not entitled to the full franchise six months after the coming into force of this Law, he shall give proof that he, within six months after the coming into force of the Law sent to the Field-Cornet of his ward a written notice of his intention to become naturalized.

If he neglect to send in this notice, in accordance with the form contained in Schedule A, or if he does not produce the certificate mentioned in Article 1, Section a, the applicant shall not be entitled to the full franchise in terms of this Article, but only in terms of Articles 2 and 3.

Such notice shall be sent by the Field-Cornet to the State Secretary, and the latter shall publish the same in the *Staats Courant*, all under the same provisions and punishment as set forth in Article 2.

If he is naturalized after this Law comes into force, he may obtain the full franchise after five years from the date of his naturalization, and, if he chooses, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article.

ARTICLE 5.—Nothing provided in this Law shall prevent the Executive Council from granting letters of naturalization with or without the full franchise to persons who take a position in the service of the country, or have rendered services to the country, or who have in any other respect rendered themselves of service to the country, although in their case they have not fulfilled the provisions of the Law provided that they take the oath in accordance with Article 1.

ARTICLE 6.—Youths not born in the State, and whose fathers have obtained letters of naturalization or full franchise before they (the youth) had reached the age of sixteen years, have the same franchise as their father.

Youths born in this State, whose fathers were neither naturalized nor had the full franchise, may be naturalized at their sixteenth year by taking the oath mentioned in Article 1, and may, five years after that, obtain the full franchise by fulfilling the provisions mentioned in Article 1, Sections *a* and *b*. They shall also, on their sixteenth year, by giving notice as contained in Schedule A, be able to obtain the full franchise five years thereafter, on fulfillment of the provisions contained in Article 1, Sections *a*, *b* and *d*.

ARTICLE 7.—The application for naturalization and the full franchise must be sent with the necessary proofs to the State Secretary by the Field-Cornet, through the Landrost, and the latter shall refer these to the State Attorney, who shall send them back to the State Secretary with his advice. If the State Secretary and State Attorney have no legal objection to the granting of the letter of naturalization or full

The letters of naturalization and full franchise shall be signed by the State Secretary and State Attorney. The State Secretary shall cause the letters of naturalization and full franchise to be granted by an official appointed for that purpose, and cause the necessary oath of naturalization to be taken before this official.

**ARTICLE 8.**—No person who is not considered as a white inhabitant of the South African Republic shall obtain the franchise, in accordance with Article 9 of the Grondwet.

**ARTICLE 10.**—This Law comes into force immediately after publication in the *Staats Courant*.

**F. W. REITZ,**  
*State Secretary.*

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS,  
PRETORIA, July 26, 1899.

## SCHEDULE A.

I \_\_\_\_\_ at present resident at \_\_\_\_\_  
in the South African Republic, formerly residing at \_\_\_\_\_  
in \_\_\_\_\_ whose occupation is \_\_\_\_\_  
desiring to reside for good in the South African Republic,  
hereby give notice that I, \_\_\_\_\_ years from date, will make  
application for letters of naturalization with the full fran-  
chise, and declare that I am acquainted with the duties im-

posed on me by Law No. , 1899, to obey the laws and commit no crime against the independence of the South African Republic.

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### PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS.

#### PROPOSAL OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR A JOINT INQUIRY.

*British Agent to South African Republic, August 2, 1899.*

Her Majesty's Government authorize me to invite President of South African Republic to appoint delegates to discuss with delegates to be appointed by me on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, whether Uitlander population will be given immediate and substantial representation by franchise law recently passed by Volksraad, together with other measures connected with it, such as increase of seats, and, if not, what additions or alterations may be necessary to secure that result. In this discussion it should be understood that the delegates of Her Majesty's Government would be free to make any suggestions calculated to improve measures in question and secure their attaining the end desired. Personally I wish to add the expression of my earnest hope that Government of South African Republic may accept this proposal, and that we may proceed to discuss the composition of the proposed Commission, method of procedure, and place of meeting, at once. Government of South African Republic will, I feel sure, agree with me that, if proposal of Her Majesty's Government is accepted, the inquiry should be held as soon as possible.

#### ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

*F. W. Reitz to British Agent.*

*19th August.*

Sir, With reference to your proposal for a joint enquiry in your dispatches of the 2nd and 3rd August, Government of South African Republic have the honour to suggest

the following alternative proposal for consideration of Her Majesty's Government, which this Government trusts may lead to a final settlement: (1) The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the people a 5 years' retrospective franchise, as proposed by His Excellency the High Commissioner on the 1st June, 1899. (2) The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that 8 new seats in the First Volksraad, and, if necessary, also in the Second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus with the 2 sitting members for the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof 10 representatives in a Raad of 36, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of one-fourth of the total. (3) The new burghers shall equally with the old burghers be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant-General. (4) This Government will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as Her Majesty's Government, through the British Agent, may wish to convey to it. (5) In putting forward the above proposals Government of South African Republic assumes: (a) That Her Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place. (b) That Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being allowed tacitly to drop. (c) That arbitration (from which foreign element other than Orange Free State is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become law. (6) Immediately on Her Majesty's Government accepting this proposal for a settlement, the Government will ask the Volksraad to adjourn for the purpose of consulting the people about it, and the whole scheme might become law say within a few weeks. (7) In the meantime the form and

scope of the proposed Tribunal are also to be discussed and provisionally agreed upon, while the franchise scheme is being referred to the people, so that no time may be lost in putting an end to the present state of affairs. The Government trust that Her Majesty's Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government the existing franchise law of this Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposals, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled, and further to put an end to present strained relations between the two Governments and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all, and therefore this Government, having regard to all these circumstances would highly appreciate it if Her Majesty's Government, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further and the urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered.

*21st August.*

*Sir,* In continuation of my dispatch of the 19th instant, and with reference to the communication to you of the State Attorney this morning, I wish to forward to you the following in explanation thereof, with the request that the same may be telegraphed to His Excellency the High Commissioner for South Africa, as forming part of the proposals of this Government embodied in the above-named dispatch: (1) The proposals of this Government regarding question of franchise and representation contained in that dispatch must be regarded as expressly conditional on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in paragraph 5 of the dispatch, viz.: (a) In future not to interfere in internal

affairs of the South African Republic. (b) Not to insist further on its assertion of existence of suzerainty. (c) To agree to arbitration. (2) Referring to paragraph 6 of the dispatch, this Government trusts that it is clear to Her Majesty's Government that this Government has not consulted the Volksraad as to this question and will only do so when an affirmative reply to its proposals has been received from Her Majesty's Government.

NOTE.

In reply to the above proposals of the South African Republic, the Secretary of State for the Colonies declared Great Britain "unable to appreciate the objections entertained by the Government of the South African Republic to a Joint Commission of Inquiry," and refused to enter into a consideration of the alternative proposals of the South African Republic.

As a consequence of this refusal, the South African Republic communicated to Great Britain that the "proposal for a five years' franchise and extension of representation of the Witwatersrand with the conditions attached thereto" had lapsed, whereby also lapsed the necessity of laying it before the representatives of the people for ratification.

During the month of September following, the negotiations failed to produce any agreement, and matters remained in this unsatisfactory state until, on October 9, 1899, the ultimatum of President Kruger brought affairs to an actual crisis.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ULTIMATUM OF SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, OCTOBER 9, 1899.

The Government of the South African Republic feels itself compelled to refer the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland once more to the Convention of London, 1884, concluded between this Republic and the United Kingdom and which in its XIVth Article secures certain specified rights to the white population of this Republic, namely, that "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic." This Government wishes further to observe that the above are only rights which Her Majesty's Government have reserved in the above Convention with regard to the Uitlander population of this Republic and that the violation only of those rights could give that Government a right to diplomatic representations or intervention while, moreover, the regulation of all other questions affecting the position or the rights of the Uitlander population under the above-mentioned Convention is handed over to the Government and the representatives of the people of the South African Republic. Amongst the questions the regulation of which falls exclusively within the competence of the Government and of the Volksraad, are included those

of the franchise and representation of the people in this Republic, and although thus the exclusive right of this Government and of the Volksraad for the regulation of that franchise and representation is indisputable, yet this Government has found occasion to discuss in a friendly fashion the franchise and the representation of the people with Her Majesty's Government, without, however, recognizing any rights thereto on the part of Her Majesty's Government. This Government has also, by the formulation of the now existing Franchise Law and the Resolution with regard to representation, constantly held these friendly discussions before its eyes. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, however, the friendly nature of these discussions has assumed a more and more threatening tone, and the minds of the people in this Republic and in the whole of South Africa have been excited and a condition of extreme tension has been created, while Her Majesty's Government could no longer agree to the legislation respecting franchise and the Resolution respecting representation in this Republic, and finally, by your note of 25th September, 1899, broke off all friendly correspondence on the subject, and intimated that they must now proceed to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement, and this Government can only see in the above intimation from Her Majesty's Government a new violation of the Convention of London, 1884, which does not reserve to Her Majesty's Government the right to a unilateral settlement of a question which is exclusively a domestic one for this Government and has already been regulated by it.

On account of the strained situation and the consequent serious loss in and interruption of trade in general which the correspondence respecting the franchise and representation in this Republic carried in its train, Her Majesty's Government have recently pressed for an early settlement and finally pressed, by your intervention, for an answer within forty-eight hours (subsequently somewhat modified) to your

note of the 12th September, replied to by the note of this Government of the 15th September, and your note of the 25th September, 1899, and thereafter further friendly negotiations broke off and this Government received the intimation that the proposal for a final settlement would shortly be made, but although this promise was once more repeated no proposal has up to now reached this Government. Even while friendly correspondence was still going on an increase of troops on a large scale was introduced by Her Majesty's Government, and stationed in the neighborhood of the borders of this Republic. Having regard to occurrences in the history of this Republic which it is unnecessary here to call to mind, this Government felt obliged to regard this military force in the neighborhood of its borders as a threat against the independence of the South African Republic, since it was aware of no circumstances which could justify the presence of such military force in South Africa and in the neighborhood of its borders. In answer to an inquiry with respect thereto, addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner, this Government received, to its great astonishment, in answer, a veiled insinuation that from the side of the Republic (*van Republikeinsche zyde*) an attack was being made on Her Majesty's Colonies and at the same time a mysterious reference to possibilities whereby it was strengthened in its suspicion that the independence of this Republic was being threatened. As a defensive measure it was therefore obliged to send a portion of the burghers of this Republic in order to offer the requisite resistance to similar possibilities. Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of this Republic in conflict with the Convention of London, 1884, caused by the extraordinary strengthening of troops in the neighborhood of the borders of this Republic, has thus caused an intolerable condition of things to arise whereto this Government feels itself obliged, in the interest not only of this Republic but also of all South Africa, to make an end as soon as possible, and feels

itself called upon and obliged to press earnestly and with emphasis for an immediate termination of this state of things and to request Her Majesty's Government to give it the assurance

- (a) That all points of mutual difference shall be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government with Her Majesty's Government.
- (b) That the troops on the borders of this Republic shall be instantly withdrawn.
- (c) That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since the 1st June, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this Government, and with a mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by the Republic during further negotiations within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the Governments, and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this Republic from the borders.
- (d) That Her Majesty's troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any port of South Africa.

This Government must press for an immediate and affirmative answer to these four questions, and earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to return such an answer before or upon Wednesday the 11th October, 1899, not later than 5 o'clock p. m., and it desires further to add that in the event of unexpectedly no satisfactory answer being received by it within that interval it will with great regret be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty's Government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that in the event of any further movements of troops taking place

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within the above-mentioned time in the nearer directions of our borders this Government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war.

**REPLY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

*October 10, 1899.*

Her Majesty's Government have received with great regret the peremptory demands of the Government of the South African Republic conveyed in your telegram of 9th October, No. 3. You will inform the Government of the South African Republic, in reply, that the conditions demanded by the Government of the South African Republic are such as Her Majesty's Government deem it impossible to discuss.

## CHAPTER V.

### DUAL ALLIANCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

*Resolution of Orange Free State, September 27, 1899.*

The Volksraad, having heard the second paragraph of His Honor's opening speech and the official documents and correspondence relating thereto which have been handed in, having regard to the strained state of affairs in South Africa which have arisen in consequence of the differences between the Governments of South African Republic and Her Britannic Majesty, which constitute a threatening danger for bringing about hostilities, the calamitous effect of which would be incalculable for all white inhabitants of South Africa, being bound to the South African Republic by the closest bonds of blood and alliance and standing in most friendly relations towards Her Majesty's Government, fearing that should a war break out a hatred would be generated between the European races in South Africa, which still in the far future will impede and restrain the peaceful development of all States and Colonies of South Africa, being sensible that serious obligations rest on the Volksraad to do all that is possible to prevent the shedding of blood, considering that in the course of negotiations with the British Government which have extended over several months, every endeavor has been made by the Government of the South African Republic at a peaceful settlement of the differences which have been brought forward by Uitlanders in the South African Republic and which have been adopted as its own cause by the Government of Her Majesty, which endeavors, unfortunately, have only had the result that British troops have been concentrated on the border of the South African Republic and are still continually being reinforced :

"Resolves to instruct the Government still further to do everything in its power to preserve and establish peace and to contribute by peaceful methods towards the solution of the existing differences, always provided that it can be brought about without injury to the honour and independence of this State or of the South African Republic, and wishes unmistakably to declare its opinion that there exists no cause for war and that if a war is now begun or occasioned by Her Majesty's Government against South African Republic, this would morally be a war against the whole of white population of South Africa and would in its results be calamitous and criminal; and further, that Orange Free State will honestly and faithfully observe its obligations towards South African Republic arising out of the political alliance between the two Republics, whatever may happen."

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ORANGE FREE STATE.

*Sir Alfred Milner to President Steyn, October 11, 1899.*

In view of resolution of Volksraad of Orange Free State communicated to me in Your Honour's telegram of 27th September, I have the honour to request that I may be informed at Your Honour's earliest possible convenience whether this action on the part of the South African Republic has Your Honour's concurrence and support.

*President of Orange Free State to Sir Alfred Milner,  
October 11, 1899.*

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Excellency's telegrams of this evening. The high-handed and unjustifiable policy and conduct of Her Majesty's Government in interfering in and dictating in the purely internal affairs of South African Republic, constituting a flagrant breach of the Convention of London, 1884, accompanied at first by prepara-

tions, and latterly followed by active commencement of hostilities against that Republic, which no friendly and well-intentioned efforts on our part could induce Her Majesty's Government to abandon, constitute such an undoubted and unjust attack on the independence of the South African Republic that no other course is left to this State than honourably to abide by its Conventional Agreements entered into with that Republic. On behalf of this Government, therefore, I beg to notify that, compelled thereto by the action of Her Majesty's Government, they intend to carry out the instructions of the Volksraad as set forth in the last part of the Resolution referred to by Your Excellency.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

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#### *Chapter I.—Citizenship.*

##### **SECTION I.—How Citizenship is Obtained.**

##### **1. Burghers of the Orange Free State are:**

- (a) White persons born from inhabitants of the State both before and after 23 February, 1854.
- (b) White persons who have obtained burgher-right under the regulations of the Constitution of 1854 or the altered Constitution of 1866.
- (c) White persons who have lived a year in the State and have fixed property registered under their own names to at least the value of £150.
- (d) White persons who have lived three successive years in the State and have made a written promise of allegiance to the State and obedience to the laws, whereupon a certificate of citizenship (burgher-ship) shall be granted by the Landrost of the district where they have settled.
- (e) Civil and judicial officials who, before accepting their offices, have taken an oath of allegiance to the State and its laws.

##### **SECTION II.—How Citizenship is Lost.**

Citizenship in the Orange Free State is lost by:

- (a) Obtaining citizenship in a foreign country.
- (b) Taking service without consent of the President in foreign military service, or accepting commission under a foreign government.
- (c) Fixing one's residence outside the country with an evident intention of not returning to this State. This intention shall be considered to be expressed

when a man settles in a foreign country longer than two years.

*Chapter II.—Burgher Service.*

2. All burghers as soon as they have reached the full age of 16 years, and all who have obtained burgher-right at a later age, are obliged to have their names inscribed with the Field-Cornet, under whom they have their place of residence, and are subject to burgher service to the full age of 60 years.

*Chapter III.—Qualifications of those Entitled to Vote.*

3. All burghers who have reached the age of 18 years are qualified to exercise the right of voting for the election of Field-Commandants and Field-Cornets.

4. All burghers of full age are qualified for the election of members of the Volksraad and of the President:

- (a) Who have been born in the State.
- (b) Who have unburdened fixed property under their names to the value of at least £150.
- (c) Who are hirers of fixed property, which has at least a yearly rent of £36.
- (d) Who have at least a fixed yearly income of £200.
- (e) Who are owners of movables to a value of at least £300, and have lived at least three years in the State.

*Chapter IV.—Duties and Powers of the Volksraad.*

5. The highest legislative power rests with the Volksraad.

6. This Council (Raad) shall consist of a member for each Field-Cornetcy of the various districts, and of a member for each principal town of a district. This Council is chosen by majority of votes by the enfranchised inhabitants of each ward of each principal town of a district.

7. Every burgher is eligible as member of the Volksraad, who has never been declared guilty of crime by any jury,

nor been declared bankrupt or insolvent, his residence being within the State, has reached an age of at least 25, who also possesses fixed property of at least £500 in value.

8. A member of the Raad ceases to be such in any of the following cases:

(a) If he neglects to come to the Raad during two successive yearly sessions.

(b) If he loses one or more of the qualifications as required in Article 7.

9. Members of the Volksraad are chosen for four successive years, and are re-eligible at the end of the period.

The half shall withdraw after two years, and the first half be regulated by lot.

10. The Volksraad in its yearly meetings chooses a Chairman out of its own members.

11. The Chairman of the Volksraad shall decide in case of an equality of votes.

12. Twelve members shall make a quorum.

13. The Volksraad makes the laws, regulates the government and finances of the country, and shall assemble for that purpose at Bloemfontein once a year (viz., on the first Monday of May).

14. The Chairman shall be able to summon an extraordinary session of the Raad according to the state of affairs.

15. The laws made by the Volksraad shall have force of law two months after the promulgation, and shall be signed by the Chairman or by the President, saving always the right of the Raad to fix a shorter or longer limit of time. The members of the Raad shall, as much as possible, make the laws which have been passed, known and clear to their own public.

16. In case of insolvency, or if any sentence of imprisonment is passed against the President, the Volksraad shall be able to dismiss him at once.

17. (a) The Volksraad shall have the right to try the

President and public officials for treason, bribery and other high crimes.

- (b) The President shall not be condemned without the agreement of three to one of the members present.
- (c) He shall not be condemned without the full Raad being present, or at least without due notice being given, to give all the members opportunity to be present.
- (d) If a quorum is summoned, and is unanimously of opinion that the President is guilty of one of the above-mentioned crimes, they shall have the power to suspend him, and to make provisional arrangements to fulfill the duties of his office. But in that case they shall be obliged to call the whole Raad together to judge him.
- (e) The members of the Volksraad shall take their oath at the commencement of said examination.
- (f) In case the President should come to die, or should resign his post, or be discharged, or become unfit for the discharge of his office, the Volksraad shall be empowered to appoint one or more persons to act in his place until such unfitness cease or another President is chosen.
- (g) The sentence of the Volksraad in such cases shall have no further effect than discharge from their office, and the declaration of unfitness ever to hold any post under the Government. But the persons so sentenced shall none the less be liable to be judged according to the law.

18. The Volksraad reserves the right to examine the election lists of members for the Volksraad itself, and to declare if the members have been duly and legally elected or not.

19. The Volksraad shall have regular minutes of its transactions kept, and from time to time publish the same, such articles excepted as ought in their judgment to be kept back.

20. The agreement or disapproval of the various members on any question put to the vote must, on the request of one-fifth of members present, be inscribed in the minutes.

21. The public shall be admitted to attend the consultations of the Volksraad and to take notice of the transactions, except in special cases where secrecy is necessary.

22. The Volksraad shall make no laws preventing free assembly of the inhabitants, to memorialize the Government, to obtain assistance in difficulties, or to get an alteration in some laws.

23. The furtherance of religion and education is a subject of care for the Volksraad.

24. The Dutch Reformed Church shall be assisted and supported by the Volksraad.

25. The Volksraad shall have the power to pass a burgher or commando law for the protection and safety of this land.

26. After this Constitution shall have been fixedly determined, no alteration may be made in the same without the agreement of three-fifths of the Volksraad, and before such change may be made, a majority of three-fifths of the votes shall be necessary for the same in two successive yearly sessions.

27. The Volksraad shall have the power to inflict taxes or to diminish them, to pay the public debt and to make provision for the general defence and welfare of the State; similarly to take up money on the credit of the State, and also to dispose of Government property.

*Chapter V.—Duties, Powers, etc., of the President.*

28. There shall be a President.

29. The President shall be chosen by the enfranchised

burghers; however, the Volksraad shall recommend one or more persons to their choice.

30. The President shall be appointed for five years, and be re-eligible on resignation.

31. The President shall be the head of the Executive power. The supervision of all public departments and the execution and regulation of all matters connected with the public service shall be entrusted to the President, who shall be responsible to the Volksraad, and whose acts and deeds shall be subject to an appeal before the Volksraad.

32. The President shall as often as possible visit the towns and give the inhabitants of the same and of the district an opportunity to bring forward at the towns matters in which they are interested.

33. The President shall make a report in the yearly assemblage of the Volksraad about the state of the land and of the public service, shall assist the same with counsel and advice, and if necessary, lay bills upon the table, without, however, being able to vote upon the same.

34. The President shall also be able to summon an extraordinary meeting of the Volksraad.

35. The President shall have the power to fill up all empty posts in the public offices, which fall vacant between the times of the meeting of the Volksraad, subject to the ratification of that body.

36. The President shall have the right to suspend public officials.

37. The President with a majority of the Executive Council shall exercise the right of mercy in all criminal sentences.

38. The President with the consent of the Volksraad declares war and makes peace.

39. The President shall be able to make conventions, subject to the consent of the Volksraad.

40. The President shall not be able to make any treaty without consent of the Volksraad.

41. The President, or any member of the Executive Coun-

cil, shall have the right at all times to inspect the state of the finances, as also the books of the officials.

*Chapter VI.—Executive Council.*

42. There shall be an Executive Council, consisting of the Landrost of the capital, the Secretary of the Government, and three unofficial members, chosen by the Volksraad, to assist the President with advice and assistance.

The President shall be the Chairman, and have a decisive vote.

43. The Executive Council shall hold session on the second Monday of each second month, and at such other times as the President may desire.

44. The Executive Council shall be bound to make a yearly report of its transactions to the Volksraad.

45. A majority of the Executive Council shall have the right to summon an extraordinary meeting of the Volksraad.

46. The President and the Executive Council shall have the power of declaring martial law.

*Chapter VII.—The Judicial Power.*

47. The Landrost holds the power of civil commissioner and resident magistrate.

48. The judicial power is exclusively exercised by the courts of law, which are established by the law.

49. Legislation also regulates the administration of criminal justice, as also that in police cases, always understanding, however, that criminal cases brought in the first instance before the higher Courts are judged by a jury.

*Chapter VIII.—The Military System.*

50. The Field-Cornets shall be chosen by and out of the burghers of their wards.

51. A Field-Commandant shall be chosen for each district, by and out of the burghers of the same.

52. The assembled Field-Commandants and Field-Cornets who are united on a commando shall choose from amongst themselves, in case of war, their own Commandant-General, which General must then receive his instructions from the President.

53. The assembled Field-Commandants and Field-Cornets have the right, during the course of the war, when they have just cause for so doing, to discharge the Commandant-General who had been chosen by them, and to appoint another, they being bound in that case to give notice to the President thereof, who on receipt of such announcement, and on finding the assigned reasons well founded, fixes the day on which a new election shall take place.

54. After the war there exists no longer any Commandant-General as such.

55. The Field-Cornets must be resident in their own wards and possess property therein.

56. The Field-Commandants must be resident in their own districts, possess fixed property to the amount of £200, and have lived one year in the country.

#### *Chapter IX.—Miscellaneous Subjects.*

57. The Roman-Dutch law shall be the principal law of this State, where no other law has been made by the Volks-raad.

58. The law is for all alike, always understanding that the judge shall exercise all laws with impartiality and without respect of persons.

59. Every inhabitant owes obedience to the law and the authorities.

60. Right of property is guaranteed.

61. Personal freedom, provisionally on remaining within the limitations of the law, is guaranteed.

62. The freedom of the press is guaranteed provisionally on remaining within the law.

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## 1890-91.

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## 1891-92.

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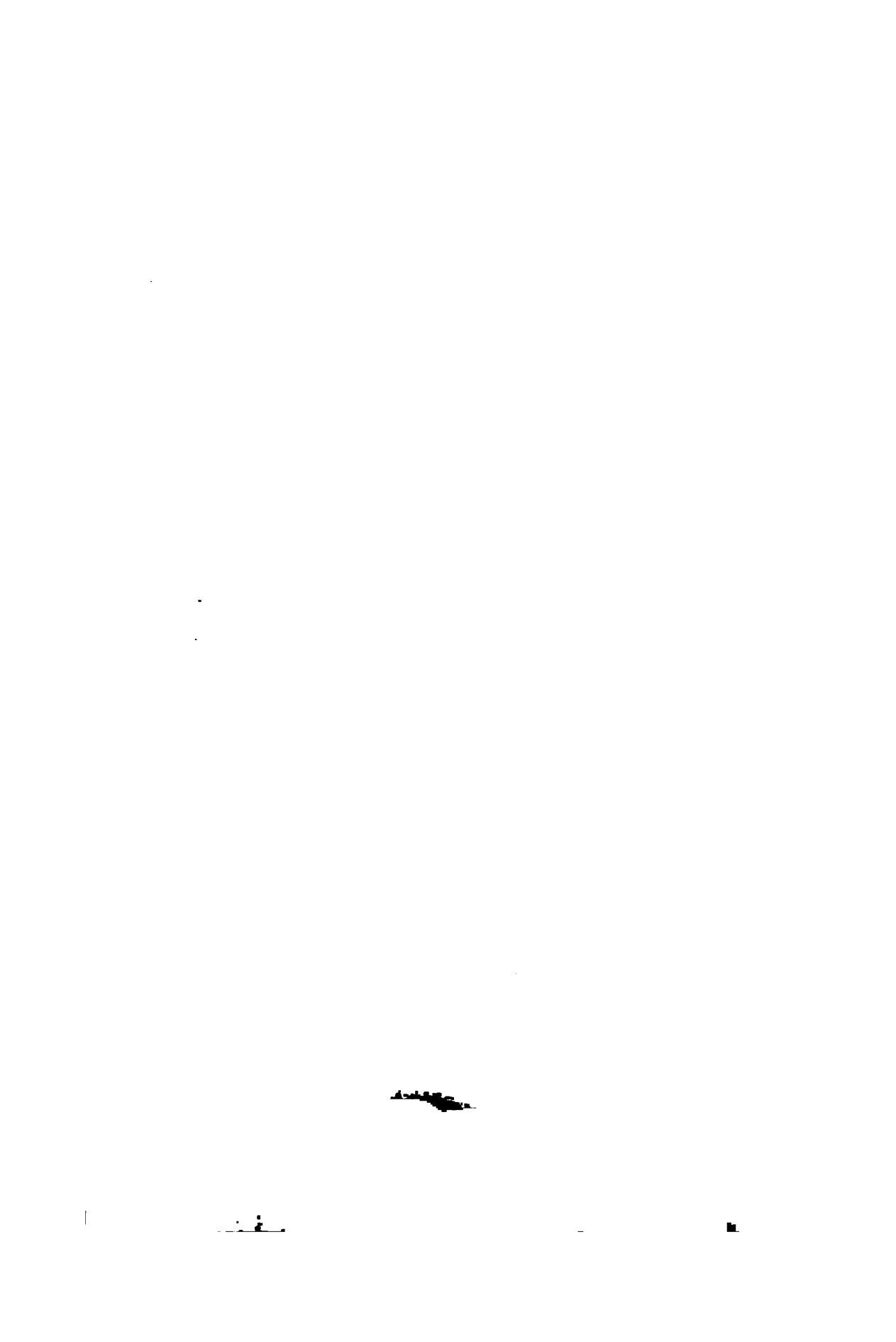
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